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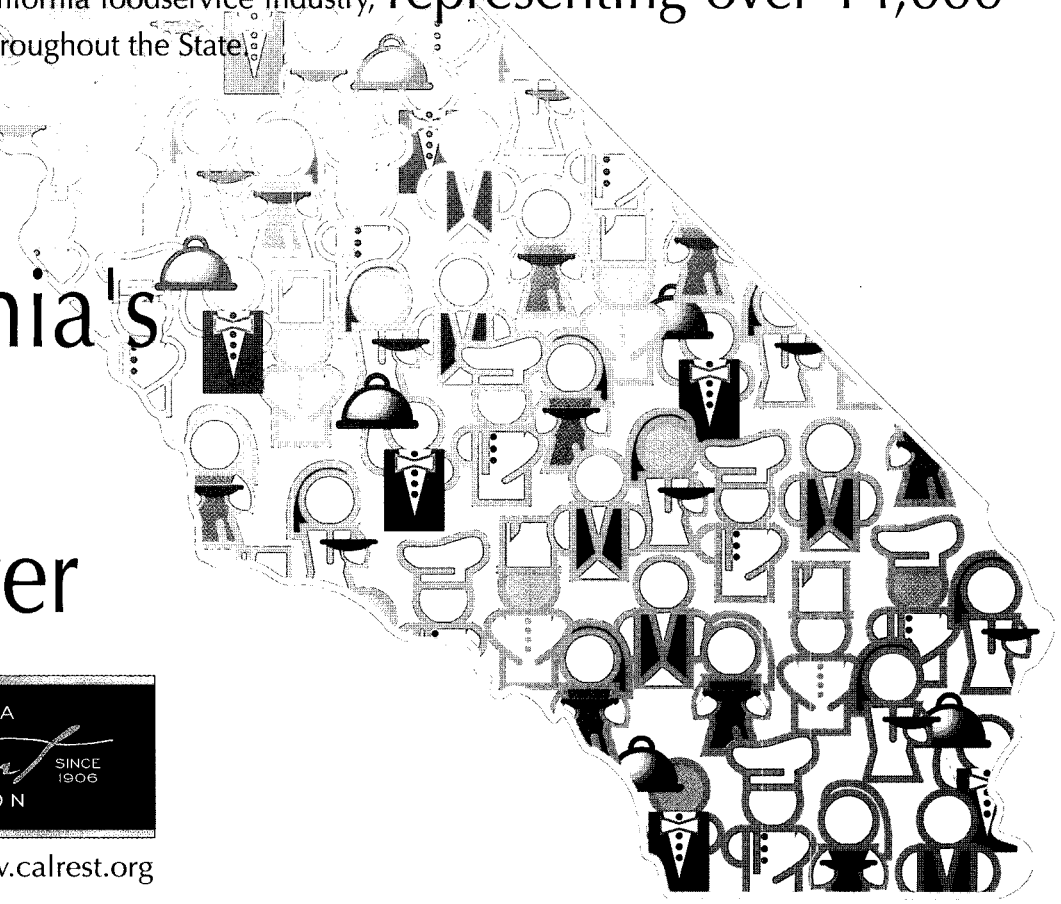

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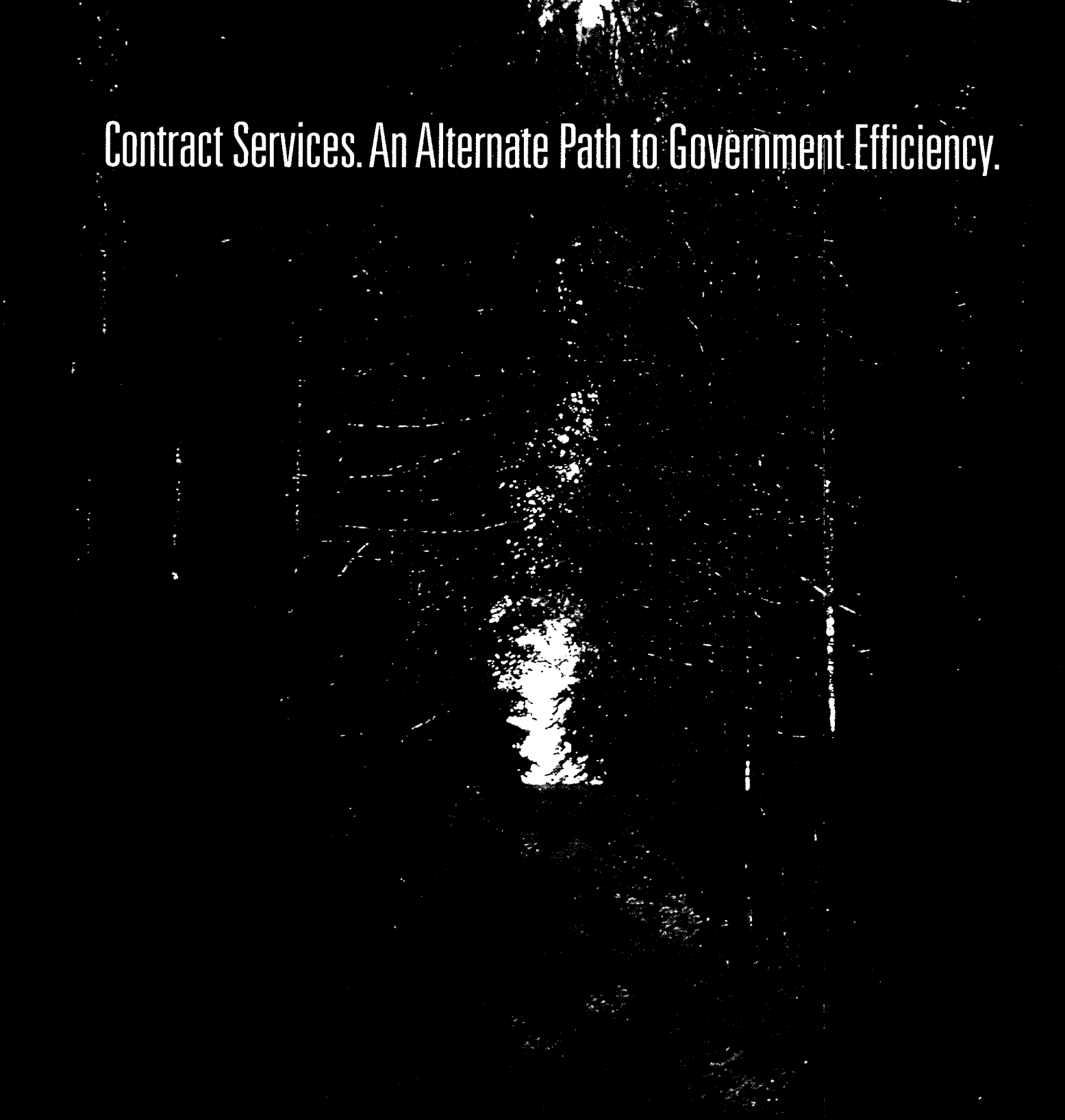

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california JOURNAL
October 2000
Volume XXXI. Number 10

Upfront
Bits and pieces from the campaign trail

Talking Points
Online vote-selling, dot.com license plates

Southern Exposure
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By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Soap Box
Using teachers as "freeway flyers"
By Keith Atwater

Rostrum
Readers sound off

D.C. Perspective
Bush and Gore as small businessmen
By Dana Wilkie

Bucking trends

In an era of partnerships, it's not unusual to see organizations of like mind and purpose coming together to support a common goal. That's exactly what you'll see this month in the *California Journal,* as we join with KVIE's "California CapitolWeek," the California Healthcare Foundation, *The Sacramento Bee,* the PBS Democracy Project and others to rally behind the notion that people deserve to know where candidates stand on health care issues.

Cynthia H. Craft

To that end, you'll find packaged with your October 2000 *Journal* a comprehensive, 68-page guide by the Healthcare Foundation offering results of an extensive health policy survey the group conducted with the Commonwealth Club of California. Titled "Election 2000: What the Candidates Say About Health Care," this hefty undertaking posed seven questions to each of 19 candidates for federal office — for president, U.S. Senate and in seven high-profile congressional contests. As the first report of its kind by the two partners, it represents an assault on quick, superficial, bite-sized reporting of candidates and their views.

Dr. Gloria Duffy, head of the Commonwealth Club, perhaps put it best: "Increasingly," she said, "those running for public office feel constrained to address issues in short, punchy sound bites. This does not provide the sustained discussion of major health care policy issues that the times demand." It is trends like these that we enjoy bucking.

By Dagmar Thompson

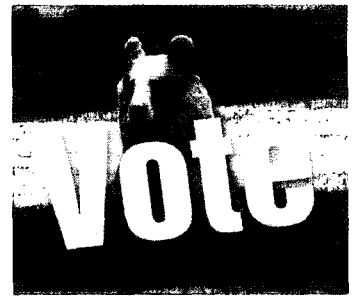
The political pendulum
As candidates turn up the heat in the final weeks, voters seem far more willing to stay in the temperate zone.
By Cynthia H. Craft

U.S. President
For California's GOP, winning the presidency isn't the only worry.
By A.G. Block

U.S. Senate
Tom Campbell attempts political Mt. Everest against Dianne Feinstein.
By A.G. Block

Congress
Crucial California seats become battlegrounds as both parties wrestle for control of the U.S. House.
By CJ Editors

State Senate
As in the Assembly, Democrats hold the biggest moneybags in contested races.
By CJ Editors



Convention snapshots
From the streets outside L.A.'s Democratic political party gathering.
Photos by Richard Hansen

Assembly
From ho-hum to hot, the lower house offers an election-year grab bag.
By CJ Editors

A ballot bumper crop
Voters statewide face an explosion in land-use measures.
By William Fulton and Paul Shigley

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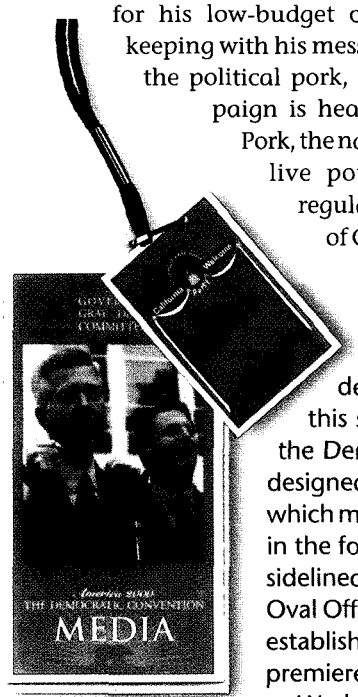
umbrage

Sideline seat. The California Correctional Peace Officers' Association, which represents prison guards, has been a lavish spender in past elections. But CCPOA President Don Novey says his group will all but sit out the 2000 campaign, giving what Novey calls "prudent" donations to selected candidates. According to Novey, it's not worth blowing money on candidates this year since many will be termed out or vulnerable to district reshuffling in next year's reapportionment. Better to wait, he says, and give big time in 2002 when candidates will really need the money and the investment will last a decade.

Oink if you love me. Every politician wants to be a standout and, if you're the underdog, the catchier the gimmick the better to help attract some desperately needed media attention. So give Republican Charles "Chuck" Carter some credit in his uphill race against Democratic Assemblyman Fred Keeley of Santa Cruz, whose party holds a 20-point voter registration edge in the 27th Assembly District. Carter's slogan: "More Chuck, Less Pork." Carter also has come up with a cost-effective way to afford a campaign manager for his low-budget campaign. In keeping with his message to reduce the political pork, Carter's campaign is headed by Leslie Pork, the name of his real, live potbelly pig, a regular companion of Carter's on the campaign trail. In case you're wondering, the little porker is housetrained for easy portability.

Rogaine, anyone? Forget issues, let's talk hair. Congressman Brad Sherman (D-Woodland Hills) doesn't have much but that's never stopped him from using his baldness as a campaign tool. While some candidates hand out pins or potholders on the campaign trail, Sherman is once again handing out plastic combs. Available this year in four fashionable colors, the combs are stamped with the congressman's name and district phone number. And, as you'd expect from a Democratic labor loyalist, the combs also come imprinted with a union bug. "The real campaign story here is that my district is better groomed than any other congressional district in the state," says Sherman. "No question that the entire San Fernando Valley is the best-coiffed district in California." Sherman hands out the combs from his offices and while walking precincts, but he had to get a federal election opinion on who should pick up the tab for the combs. Turns out he pays for the combs out of his personal pocket.

"An elected official is one who gets 51 percent of the vote cast by 40 percent of the 60 percent of the voters who are registered."
— Dan Bennett



Larger than life. Does Governor Gray Davis consider himself presidential material? In case anyone had doubts, check out this special little credential the Davis camp issued during the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles. It was designed to get the bearer into special, Davis-sponsored events, which might explain why the photo features Davis prominently in the foreground and the vice president of the United States sidelined in the background. Then again, maybe there's a little Oval Office ambition at work here by the man who already has established himself, in less than two years in office, as the premiere fund-raiser in the entire Democratic Party, according to Washington insiders. Better even than the guy he's overshadowing in the photo, Vice President Al Gore.

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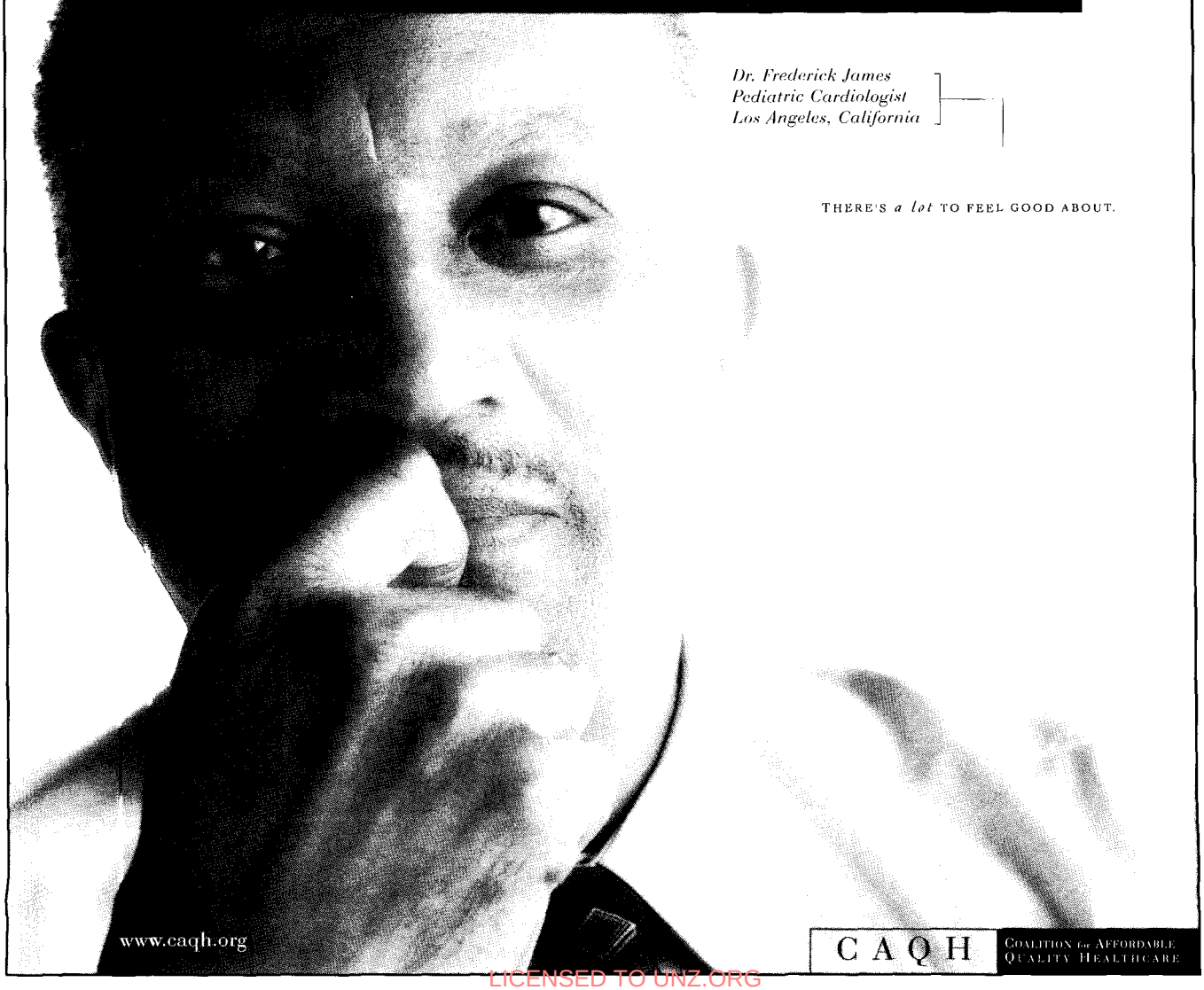
"As a pediatric cardiologist, I am very interested in the health care issues facing children. The huge area that's before us in the pediatric population is the prevention of illnesses.

"Technology has certainly come a long way. And we are treating children in ways that are greatly extending their length and quality of life. But along with treating the structural problems of the heart, I need to also be concerned with risk factors in children that can lead to problems in adult life.

"Lifestyle issues, nutrition, childhood obesity, home environment–these are all considerations that have tremendous relevance to the pediatric population. I am seeing that the managed care organizations are making strides to help us work with children and parents to promote healthy habits that can potentially prevent heart disease in later life.

"Today's managed care companies are focusing attention on entire populations. This is leading to innovative ways of improving delivery of care. And, it's one of the reasons I'm optimistic about the future."

"Our children's generation won't curse us for leaving them with managed care. They'll thank us."



Dr. Frederick James
Pediatric Cardiologist
Los Angeles, California

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Legislative watch:

Buggy dot-com bill crashes

Before rents and rush-hour commutes soared through the roof, before the run on Ferraris and the rash of evictions, emblazoning ".com" on California car license plates might have seemed like an all-around winning idea. You know, the Next Generation of drive-by dot-com marketing, and all that.

With signs of a backlash building, however — especially in San Francisco's grittier districts, where out-of-place luxury sedans are attracting more vandals than admirers — GOP Assemblyman Jim Cunneen ought to be relieved that his bill providing a ".com" vanity plate option crashed in the state Senate Transportation Committee.

"People thought it was a nifty idea," said Cunneen staffer Bob Hines. But not nifty enough, apparently. The bill was sponsored by an outfit called Namezero.com, which wanted proceeds of plate sales to go to schools on the have-not side of the digital divide. Namezero.com obviously saw an opportunity to spread its name and some goodwill around. But the Senate reminded Cunneen that the law requires qualified *non*profits to sponsor specialty license plates.

In true Capitol fashion, however, Hines insists the bill is not dead (they never actually *die)* and may be resurrected next year at the hand of co-author Rod Pacheco (R-Riverside). Said Hines, "It's not unusual when you're producing legislation to take a year or two to get it right." Not unlike a buggy software release, we might add.

Trendsetters:

"Do I hear $10, $20...$100? ... That vote is sold!"

It was only a matter of time. In a Web-wired world where folks are trying to sell their homes, their phony artwork and even their children over the Internet, is anyone surprised that cyber-entrepreneurs recently were caught trying to sell votes?

That's right. In an online stab at the heart of democracy, several Web sites were offering votes to the highest bidder. At both "voteauction.com" and on eBay, votes for the November presidential election were up for bid.

Here's the scam: If you were willing to sell your vote — and some wry online players rationalized that politicians do it all the time, anyway – you simply posted your offer and waited for a buyer. Then you struck a deal and cast your absentee ballot according to the buyer's wishes. So what's a vote running these days? Bids for an eBay offering titled "Vote of One U.S. Citizen" shot as high as $10,100, and stayed as low as 99 cents. In the end, the volatile market went bust, with federal and state authorities breaking up the party. Turns out it's a felony to accept compensation or a gift in exchange for your vote. It's also illegal to interfere with a voter filling out an absentee ballot.

Alas, the prospect of vote peddling was not among the worries that arose when California officials wrapped up their 10-month study of the feasibility of online voting, said Shad Balch, spokesman for the California Secretary of State's office. "This is new," Balch said. "It's a devious scheme that we've been able to pre-empt. We believe we've stopped it." Let's hope so.

Quotables.....

"When a computer engineer in the Silicon Valley making $67,170 a year needs to earn an additional $112,830 to even qualify to purchase a median-priced home in Cupertino, something is very wrong."

— State Senate GOP leader Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), writing about affordable housing in "California Forests," a magazine of the California Forestry Association.

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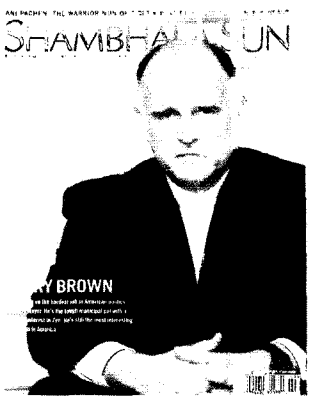
Excerpts:
From the Magazine Rack

Jerry Brown: Big City Mayor
By Trevor Carolan
Shambhala Sun, September 2000
www.shambhalasun.com



One thing is clear about Jerry Brown's Oakland reign: The people wanted change and they got plenty. Brown turned Oakland upside-down and shook it. Out fell the police chief and the school superintendent. Then, the City Hall cronies. Then, low-rent housing. In came the developers, tough-guy cops, the dreaded dot-comers. Brown even extended his welcome mat to the Pentagon, testing his pacifist reputation as he wooed a military academy. In all of this, Mayor Brown has emerged as a surprising pragmatist. Has this visionary dreamer finally come down to Earth?

Here's what he says in an interview with the magazine "Shambhala Sun," whose editors put Brown on the cover, dubbing him "the most interesting politician in America."

Q: You have been known throughout your career as someone willing to bring big ideas into the political sphere. But nowadays you're a "non-ideological centrist," devoted to what Andy Warhol used to call "bringing home the bacon."

A: "Bringing home the bacon, exactly! That's what people in the city want – lower crime, a vital downtown center, exciting opportunities. They want more shops instead of one major store, which is all Oakland has today. They want better schools, where their kids can get ahead. So you've got to deliver that. And in a capitalist society, you get a flow of capital entering because there's a return equal to or better than other opportunities elsewhere. That's the framework we're in and I'm working with it."

Regarding politics and the people drawn to it, Brown says:

"People in politics are dealing with power. They are possessed of ambition. They are maneuvering and they're competing, and that will generate plenty of less-than-ideal, Mother Theresa-type behavioral traits. OK, that's inherent."

Compiled by California Journal Editors

By the numbers

The Buzz

11: Sierra Pacific's ranking in size among California timber companies.

1.5 million: Acreage in California that Sierra Pacific owns.

1%: Percent of California's land mass owned by Sierra Pacific.

2: Factor by which Sierra Pacific has increased its California land holdings in the past 10 years.

24: Factor by which Sierra Pacific has increased its clear-cutting operations in the past 10 years.

943: Number of acres Sierra Pacific harvested by clear-cutting in 1992.

23,823: Number of acres Sierra Pacific harvested by clear-cutting in 1999.

70%: Percent of its timberland that Sierra Pacific eventually plans to clear-cut.

$129,000: Amount Governor Gray Davis collected in contributions from a Sierra Pacific-hosted fund-raiser in July 1999.

Sources: state Forestry Department, Secretary of State's office.

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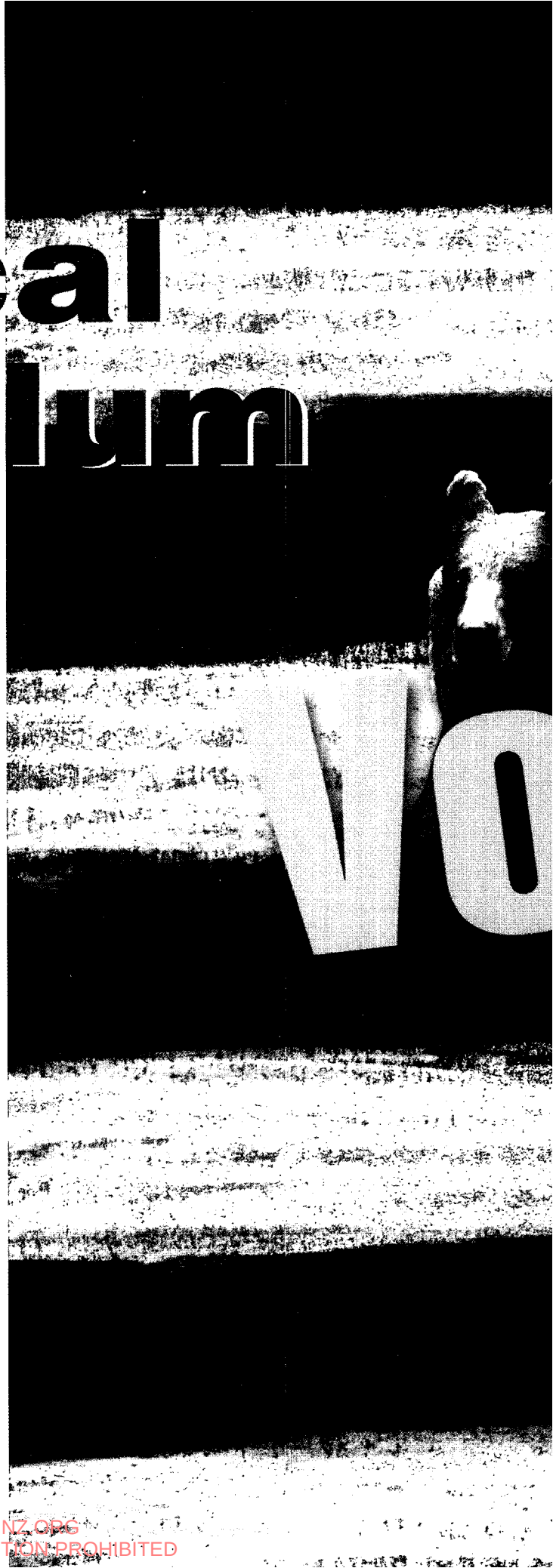
The political pendulum



Despite changes roiling beneath the surface, a contented California electorate seems poised to hew to the middle. But in politics, anything can happen.

By Cynthia H. Craft

As surely as its tectonic plates shift underfoot, California's political landscape is changing, rearranging. Nothing, it seems, is constant but that change. Witness the census findings that redefine our ethnic minorities as a demographic majority. Witness the surge of registered voters spurning party allegiances. Witness, even, the misguided folk trying to sell their votes online. Time was, you couldn't collect bets on the probability of such twists occurring.

Our state of flux reveals our contradictions. Campaigns raise and spend ever-increasing amounts of money to reach a steadily shrinking audience. Democrats try to seize crossover votes by behaving like Republicans — who are busy trying to seize crossover votes by behaving like

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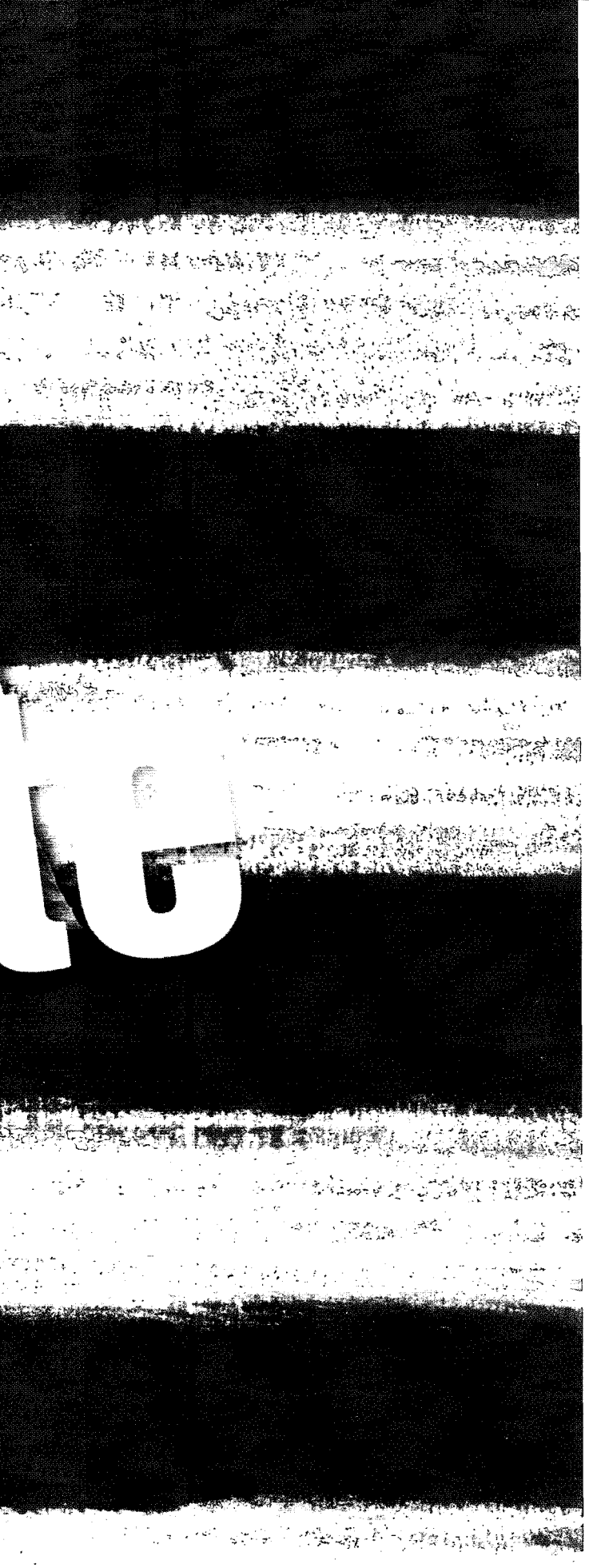

Democrats. The message in California politics is simple: Take nothing for granted.

Still, at the height of this campaign season, conventional wisdom harbors some truths. Indeed, it holds that the pendulum of public opinion has come to rest in the center of its range. Likely, November's election results will verify that. Voters for the most part will reject the risky, the unknown, the ambiguous and the negative, sticking with safe choices they believe will extend the good times. A year ago or so, pundits gave GOP presidential hopeful George W. Bush a decent shot at winning California's 54 electoral votes. In the group-think of the moment, however, Bush has peaked and is descending, and the winner's circle belongs to Democratic Vice President Al Gore.

Paradoxically, Gore's good fortune is sending Democratic strategists into a tizzy insisting that November's contests are actually tighter than seem logical. In this way, Democrats hope to keep Election Day turnout high. (Remember, take nothing for granted.) The California Republican Party and its candidates, meanwhile, are attempting to stay in the game by going so far as to offer from $3 to $12 per head for registering new voters for the Grand Old Party. "Operation Bounty Program" reportedly has resulted in 250,000 new registered Republicans, with another 250,000 on the wish list.

If the outcome of California's presidential competition — and its U.S. Senate bout, for that matter — seems a foregone conclusion, that's far from the case in the handful of heated races that will help determine whether Democrats retake the U.S. House of Representatives. In what may be the hottest congressional race in the country, attracting millions of dollars for both sides, GOP strategists have staked out what they call "ground zero" in their campaign to retain the House: District 27 in Los Angeles County's San Gabriel Valley. At the heart of this partisan bruiser is the re-election effort of U.S. Representative James Rogan, a two-term Republican who made his debut in TV-land as a House impeachment manager aiming to oust President Bill Clinton. Here again, however, the winds of change, more so than ballot-box revenge, stand to unseat the incumbent. Over the past few years, district registration has turned Democratic, a trend favoring Rogan's nemesis, state Senator Adam Schiff of Pasadena.

On the other end of the spectrum, in a rural Central Valley district far from Rogan's, Democratic Representative Cal Dooley (D-Visalia) is viewed as vulnerable because of a shift of another nature — demographic. There, Republicans hope to capture an increasingly muscular Latino vote with the familiar name and face of former Fresno TV anchorman Rich Rodriguez, recruited by the GOP for his first stab at elected office. Elsewhere in California, close congressional contests are under way in districts based in

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San Jose, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles and San Diego. (See *CJ's* election coverage begining on page 16.)

As for state Senate and Assembly district contests nestled within the congressional battlegrounds, decidedly less is at stake. Each race undoubtedly is hot in its own right, yet no one expects a big-picture outcome in which the Democrats' majority control of the Legislature is threatened.

Further down ticket, voters will decide on a mercifully short list of meaty ballot measures that includes Proposition 34, a version of campaign finance reform friendlier to politicians than what Californians approved in 1996; Proposition 36, a program to reroute first- and second-time drug offenders to treatment instead of prison; and Proposition 37, a big business-backed effort to scuttle regulatory fees and clean-up costs.

As it has before, the ballot measure lineup reflects Silicon Valley's penchant toward tackling education reform via the initiative process, a real-time outlet for high-tech's entrepreneurial zeal. Venture capitalist Tim Draper is behind Proposition 38, a school voucher measure with a long road ahead of it; other high-tech business leaders are shoveling cash into the coffers of the pro-Proposition 39 campaign that would make it easier for communities to pass local school bonds. (See *CJ*'s Ballot Book, September 2000.)

At any rate, it's often said that all politics is local — not so easily defined by the boundaries of statewide or national party agendas. To test this theory, *California Journal* writers and editors added an extra step to their coverage of our magazine's trademark, district-by-district pre-election analysis. We touched base with candidates in each of the state's 152 congressional and state legislative districts to find out what's weighing heavy on the minds of Californians from Eureka to El Cajon. Along with an unexpected nod of appreciation from candidates who've grown weary of one-dimensional "sound-bite" reporting by the media, we received a very detailed portrait of the real-life concerns of our state's constituents. (You'll notice the new category, "Key Issues," added to our pre-election analyses on the following pages.)

Fundamentally, Californians care most about what is going on right in their own neighborhood. In the Central Valley, that would be the infestation of the glassy-winged sharpshooter; in coastal regions, it's the condition of the beaches they like to visit; in Los Angeles, it's reining in still-out-of-control juvenile crime; in the Bay Area, it's local traffic tie-ups and the daily commute crunch.

The top three issues to pop up most often in our queries about congressional constituent concerns were education (18 percent), health care (16 percent) and the environment (15 percent). In state Senate races, the issues bubbling to the surface were education (26 percent), transportation (16 percent) and health care (13 percent). And in the Assembly districts, constituents were said to care most about education (27 percent), transportation (15 percent) and health care (13 percent).

Returning to the big picture, Californians are deemed a fairly content lot by the Field Poll, which released results showing that 58 percent of respondents believe the state is heading in the right direction. But candidates prepared to take the electorate's contentment for granted would do well to recall the wise words of a learned sage: "Never forget where the pendulum doth rest."

President

(Vice-presidential candidates are listed in parentheses)

Democrat: Al Gore of Tennessee (Joe Lieberman). Republican: George W. Bush of Texas (Dick Cheney). American Independent: Howard Phillips of Virginia (J. Curtis Frazier). Green: Ralph Nader of Washington, D.C. (Winona LaDuke). Libertarian: Harry Browne of Washington, D.C. (Art Oliver). Natural Law: John Hagelin of Iowa (Nat Goldhaber). Reform: Patrick Buchanan of Virginia (Ezola Foster).

Key Issues: Maintaining economic growth, spending the national surplus, teacher quality, protecting Social Security and Medicare, Supreme Court appointments, environmental protection, gun control, military strength, foreign affairs, abortion rights.

When it comes to presidential politics, California is the big kahuna. Its cache of 54 electoral votes represents 20 percent of the

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270 necessary to win the presidency. In addition, no Republican has ever won the White House without California.

Given the math and the history, it would be logical to expect California to become a presidential battleground between the two major-party candidates — Democratic Vice President Al Gore and George W. Bush, the Republican governor of Texas.

Al Gore

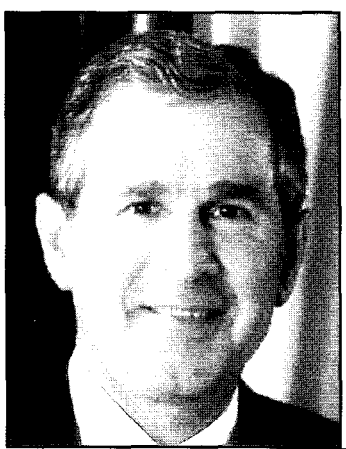
It won't.

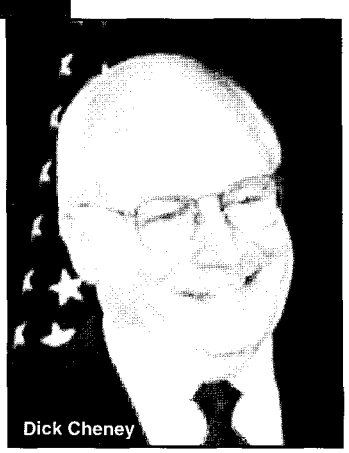
Even before the campaign entered its final, post-Labor Day phase, the Golden State's golden prize was already taken. Unless an unforeseen, sweeping disaster befalls the Democratic Party, the state's electoral tally will lodge firmly in the column marked "Gore," and there is little the Bush campaign can do to change that outcome. There is no "hail Mary" in the offing, no ninth-inning grand slam.

Joe Lieberman

Does the eventual result mean the two presidential campaigns have no significance in California? Quite the contrary. Both are vital but for different reasons.

For Democrats, the goal is winning 54 electoral votes. History aside, it is Gore who cannot win the presidency without California. Bush, bolstered by GOP strength in the South and Southwest, can win without California. Thus, the Democrats' chief worry is complacency, which could depress turnout and harm Democratic candidates in down-ticket races for Congress and the Legislature. Low turnout tends to favor Republicans. As a result, the Gore campaign cannot lose focus despite its lead in polls and the Democratic Party's growing confidence that a majority of the state's electorate is firmly in its camp. In addition to a regimen of television, cable and radio ads, plus direct mail, Democrats must run a tactical ground campaign to ensure that their voters actually show up on Election Day. Finally, Democrats must tend to some of their more liberal constituencies — especially environmentalists and campaign reformers — who may find Green Party nominee Ralph Nader a viable alternative, thereby handing Bush a chance at an unlikely last-minute miracle.


George W. Bush


Dick Cheney

For Republicans, the goal is broader and more abstract. Tactically, they want to force Democrats to at least fret about winning California and thus spend some time and resources here. On a more profound level, the GOP presidential campaign is about rebuilding the state's ailing Republican Party.

A state of centrists

Politically, California voters tend to be centrists, with just a slight tilt to the left on such issues as education, immigration, the environment, growth, health care, gun control and abortion. These days, the Democratic Party holds the center, thanks to eight years of Bill Clinton's presidency and the middle-of-the-road mantra preached by Governor Gray Davis. Republicans still trend to the right on issues, especially abortion, guns, immigration and the environment.

Because of the 1998 elections, Democrats dominate California politics. They hold both U.S. Senate seats, the governorship and four of the five statewide constitutional offices. Even the nonpartisan superintendent of public instruction is a Democrat. Democrats are a majority of the state's congressional delegation and rule both houses of the Legislature — supremacy they are not likely to lose in 2000.

By contrast, the California Republican Party is a shambles from the top of its statewide ticket straight down through its congressional and legislative slate, with few bright spots to illuminate an otherwise bleak landscape. In 1998, Republicans were crushed in races for governor and U.S. Senate and managed to elect only two statewide constitutional officers; one of them – Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush – subsequently was driven from office this summer by a scandal. GOP leaders fret openly about losing seats in the Legislature, while their congressional people talk about having a good election if the party relinquishes only two of the four at-risk districts targeted by Democrats. Internally, the GOP remains disunited, beleaguered by ideological turmoil between conservatives and social moderates. More significant for its future, Republicans have been unable to make inroads among Latinos and Asians — two growing ethnic populations that each year assume more powerful roles in the state's

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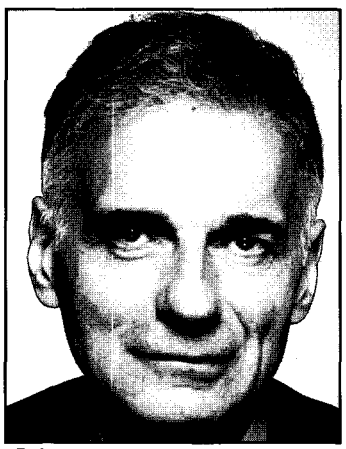
political life.

Enlightened Republicans no longer kid themselves about GOP competitiveness in California. They concede that the party must pull together and reinvent itself, much the way Democrats altered their image under Clinton and Davis. For Republicans, this means solving internal rifts that have damaged their image and morale, moving toward the center of the political spectrum, diversifying their ethnic base and broadening their appeal to new generations of voters — among them, Latinos and Asians but also "Gen Xers" and "Gen Ys."


Ralph Nader

The Bush campaign alone can't rescue California's ailing Republican Party. Any GOP presidential resources dedicated to California detract from the Bush campaign's ability to wage war in venues such as the Midwest, where the presidency will be lost or won. A two-day swing through the Central Valley, for instance, probably costs about as much as a week's worth of stumping in Michigan or Illinois.

From Bush's point of view, California is an extravagance. A late August Field Poll gave Gore a 13-point lead among likely voters in California, while a second poll showed Gore more in tune with Californians on fundamental issues. If Bush were comfortably ahead elsewhere, he might afford a swing or two through California or a mega-buck advertising blitz on California airwaves. But he does not enjoy that luxury. Polls in pivotal states such as Pennsylvania and Michigan repeatedly show Gore running strong in Republican suburbia. Consequently, Bush must dedicate his energies to places where the effort will impact the election and where he remains competitive.

But California Republicans have no choice but to plead their case to Bush that he not abandon the state in the same way Republican presidential campaigns deserted California in 1992 and 1996 — with similar, crippling results for the party overall. For California Republicans, even a brief California tour by Bush — and the accompanying local media attention it generates — could make a difference in down-ticket races, such as political rookie Rich Rodriguez's attempt to oust incumbent Democrat Cal Dooley in the Central Valley's 20th Congressional District or incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray's bid in San Diego to fend off a challenge by Democrat Susan Davis in the 49th Congressional District.

Another GOP presidential abandonment, however, may well continue the California GOP's downward spiral, exacerbated next year by reapportionment and, in 2002, by what is shaping up at this moment as another gubernatorial drubbing at the hands of Gray Davis.

In California, there really is no presidential contest. Gore will win the state's 54 electoral votes. But for the state's Republican Party, this presidential election holds much more at stake.

— A.G. Block

U.S. Senate

United States Senate (46% D - 35% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco. Republican: Tom Campbell of Campbell. American Independent: Diane Beall Templin of Escondido. Green: Medea Susan Benjamin of San Francisco. Libertarian: Gail Katherine Lightfoot of Pismo Beach. Natural Law: Brian M. Rees of San Luis Obispo. Reform: Jose "Joe" Camahort of San Jose.

Key Issues: Education, economic stability, prescription drug pricing for seniors, patients' bill of rights.

The last time Democrat Dianne Feinstein ran for re-election to the U.S. Senate, she barely survived a hard-boiled, attack-dog campaign by her Republican opponent, then-Congressman Michael Huffington.

Although that campaign took place only six years ago, the atmospherics surrounding the 1994 election were vastly different than today. Back then, incumbency was a handicap as voter anger over a lingering recession and politics-as-usual threatened

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every official seeking another term. That anger was especially vented at Democrats, who lost control of the Congress for the first time in decades.

Now comes 2000. California and the nation are riding the crest of unprecedented prosperity, and poll after poll shows the electorate generally pleased with the performance of both the president and the Congress. In this political climate, it's an advantage to be an incumbent. Dianne Feinstein, seeking her second full term in the Senate, is a prime beneficiary of this warm and fuzzy view of government. Her opponent, meanwhile, is moderate Republican Congressman Tom Campbell, a Stanford law professor whose political career has been distinguished by remarkably bad timing.

Dianne Feinstein

As if good times weren't enough of a political advantage, Feinstein remains one of California's most popular politicians. Her approval rating in the Field Poll has been steady at 57 percent throughout the summer, and her political profile mirrors that of the electorate. Long before Gray Davis reinvented himself as a centrist Democrat for the 1998 gubernatorial race, Feinstein laid claim to the political middle with her pro-choice, pro-death penalty, pro-gun control posture. And although her lead over Campbell shrank from 26 points in June to 17 points by the August Field Poll, Campbell's level of support increased only 2 percent; the remainder of Feinstein's erosion fell into the "undecided" column.

Tom Campbell

Feinstein also has a solid and generous fundraising base that padded her campaign coffers with more than $3 million cash-on-hand by the end of June. Campbell, by contrast, had slightly more than $1 million. Even a broken leg, suffered in late August, that may keep Feinstein off the stump for most of the campaign, likely won't slow her momentum.

Campbell, meanwhile, possesses a hefty resume, including a doctorate in economics from the University of Chicago and a law degree from Harvard. A White House fellow in 1980, he later held several positions in the Reagan administration before serving two separate stints in the House of Representatives (1989-1992 and 1995-present), sandwiched around half a term in the state Senate (1993-95). But his impressive credentials and moderate stance on most social issues haven't deterred him from proposing some quirky ideas on such issues as tax policy and drug addiction. He's proposed scrapping the national income tax for a national sales tax and legalizing drugs as a way to combat the crime that often accompanies drug addiction. He also is pro-choice and supports some gun control, thereby neutralizing two key issues of Democrats. Nevertheless, Campbell can't come close to matching the money that Huffington threw at Feinstein in 1994 and must rely on free media. A modest budget affords him only limited opportunities for the kind of television buys necessary for success in a statewide contest — especially against one of the state's best-known politicians.

Campbell sought a U.S. Senate seat once before and, as with 2000, that effort was significant for its bad timing. In 1992 he ran for the Republican nomination only to lose narrowly to conservative commentator Bruce Herschensohn. Campbell believed he was undone by a primary system that virtually guaranteed only conservatives could emerge from a contested GOP primary. He sought to change the rules by sponsoring Proposition 198 — the blanket primary initiative passed by voters in 1996. Had that blanket primary been in effect in 1992, Campbell probably would have captured the GOP nomination and been pitted against liberal Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, the Democratic nominee – a race many believe he would have won.

Now comes 2000 and an election where Campbell benefited from the blanket primary only to face a Democratic foe far more formidable than Boxer.

The breadth of Feinstein's strength — and Campbell's challenge — was revealed in results from the March primary. In an election that saw more Republicans go to the polls than Democrats, Feinstein nevertheless won 51 percent of the statewide total and even made an impressive showing in such GOP strongholds as Orange County, where she captured 38 percent of the vote, running ahead of her own party's registration. More significantly, Feinstein won 54 percent of the vote in Santa Clara County — Tom Campbell's home turf. And, of course, she carried traditional Democratic territories, such as Los Angeles County, where she took 60 percent of the vote, scooping up nearly twice as many votes as the entire GOP primary field. In every venue, she ran substantially ahead of the Democratic presidential front-runner, Vice President Al Gore, who is expected to carry California this fall.

Surprises and upsets do occur in politics. But if Tom Campbell wins this Senate race, it would redefine the term "upset."

— A.G. Block

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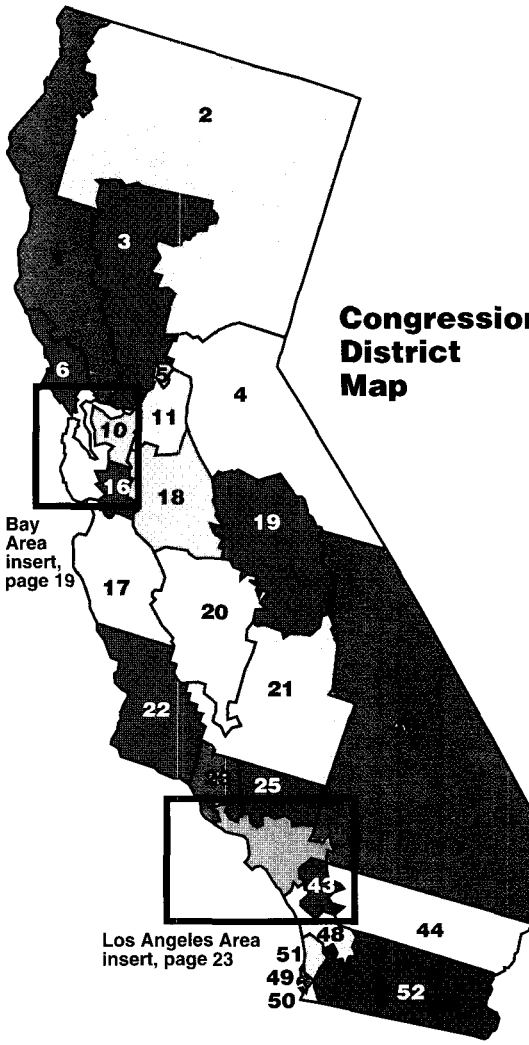
Congress

Editor's Key: *Those districts considered "hot" races are marked with a flame. We also list the percentage of registered Democrats, Republicans and "Decline-to-State "(DS) voters in each district. For the first time, based on extensive interviews with candidates throughout the state, we are noting the "Key Issues" in each congressional, Assembly and state Senate district. And, as always, we define each race as "safe," "leans" or a "toss-up."*



DISTRICT 1 (47% D - 32% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Mike Thompson of St. Helena. Republican: Russell J. "Jim" Chase of Willits. Libertarian: Emil P. Rossi of Booneville. Natural Law: Cheryl Kreier of Lafayette. Reform: Pamela Elizondo of Laytonville.

Key Issues: Salmon restoration, runoff pollution, rural health care, tax reduction, Social Security, school vouchers.

For Republican challenger Jim Chase, three times is a charm — the number of tries it took before he nabbed the nomination. Now all he has to do is wage an uphill battle against first-term incumbent Mike Thompson, who raised heaps of campaign cash this election cycle — $700,000 and growing — and tucked 65 percent of the primary election votes in his column. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (38% D - 44% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Stan Morgan of Anderson. Republican: Incumbent Wally Herger of Chico. Libertarian: Charles R. Martin of Weed. Natural Law: John McDermott of Mt. Shasta.

Key Issues: Rural health care, local water rights, logging, gun rights.

The fact that Republican Wally Herger has comfortably coasted into office for seven terms hasn't deterred Democratic challenger Stan Morgan, who has tried to drum up support by touring the entire 10-county district, visiting various county fairs and local events. Let's hope he tasted some delicious, home-baked pies because that's about the only treat he'll likely enjoy this fall against Herger, who racked up 68 percent of the primary vote and has become a fixture in a district that extends from the Oregon border to northern Sacramento Valley. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (44% D - 39% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Bob Kent of Yuba City. Republican: Incumbent Doug Ose of Sacramento. Libertarian: Douglas Arthur Tuma of Antelope. Natural Law: Channing E. Jones of Berkeley.

Key Issues: Flood protection, reservoir expansion, highway repair, prescription drug coverage for seniors.

The 1991 reapportionment plan, drawn by the courts, made it unlikely that any Democrat except longtime Congressman Vic Fazio could hold what had become a conservative-leaning district. Thus when Fazio retired in 1998, the seat fell to Republican businessman Doug Ose. He should have no problem retaining it against Yuba City businessman Bob Kent, whose grass-roots effort isn't attracting much attention from congressional Democrats. But this may be Ose's last hurrah in this configuration. The next reapportionment plan will be be drawn by Democrats, who no doubt will merge portions of this district with Democratic precincts from Sacramento to create a more secure borough for themselves. And Mr. Ose may find himself sharing a district with, say, John Doolittle or Wally Herger. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 (36% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Mark A. Norberg of Roseville. Republican: Incumbent John T. Doolittle of Roseville. Libertarian: William Fritz Frey of Folsom. Natural Law: Robert E. Ray of El Granada.

Key Issues: Auburn Dam, growth and infrastructure, high-tech relocation, Social Security, Medicare and prescription drug coverage for seniors.

The growing influx of Bay Area refugees into the western portion of this district has led some to speculate that arch-conservative John Doolittle may lose his grip on this seat. But with registration still decidedly in the Republicans' favor, any challenge to Doolittle will have to come in a primary, not the general election. Sorry, Mark Norberg. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 (54% D - 29% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Robert T. Matsui of Sacramento. Republican: Ken Payne of Sacramento. Green: Ken Adams of Sacramento. Libertarian: Cullene Lang of Chico. Natural Law: Charles Kersey of Sacramento.

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Key Issues: Flood control, Social Security and prescription drug coverage for seniors.

Jimmy Carter was still president the last time that 22-year congressman Bob Matsui had an election to worry about. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lynn Woolsey of Petaluma. Republican: Ken McAuliffe of San Rafael. Green: Justin "Justo" Moscoso of San Rafael. Libertarian: Richard O. Barton of Inverness. Natural Law: Alan Barreca of Santa Rosa.

Key Issues: Repairing schools, improving teacher quality, widening Highway 101, alternative transportation between Santa Rosa and San Francisco.

The last time Democrat Lynn Woolsey and Republican Ken McAuliffe squared off two years ago, McAuliffe sank $90,000 of his own money into the campaign and lost big. This time he will be less generous with his personal funds yet has raised precious little from outside contributors. Though he's a moderate Republican, that's still a tough sell in a north coast district top-heavy with Democratic voters who have already given Woolsey four terms in office. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (60% D - 22% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent George Miller of Concord. Republican: Christopher A. Hoffman of Bay Point. Natural Law: Martin Sproul of Walnut Creek.

Key Issues: Environmental protection, teacher quality, nursing home reform, prescription drug benefits for seniors, campaign finance reform.

George Miller, a 13-term congressman and leading Democrat on the House Resources Committee, will be free to concentrate on his latest push to improve nursing home care for seniors. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (53% D - 13% R - 23% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Nancy Pelosi. Republican: Adam Sparks. Libertarian: Erik Bauman. Natural Law: David Smithstein. All of San Francisco.

Key Issues: Affordable/low-income housing, AIDS/HIV funding, living wage, women's rights issues, abortion, aging school facilities, teacher salaries, traffic congestion, public transportation.

Nancy Pelosi was on the losing side of two major issues this year: her opposition to permanent normal trade relations with China and the fight to preserve the current level of federal AIDS funding for San Francisco. But she won't lose a seventh term in this vastly liberal district and may gain the political plum she's eyed all along: House majority whip. That is, if Democrats manage to take control of Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (65% D - 11% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Barbara Lee of Oakland. Republican: Arneze Washington of Oakland. Libertarian: Fred E. Foldvary of Berkeley. Natural Law: Ellen Jefferds of Berkeley.

Key Issues: Universal health care/insurance, education funding, affordable housing, public safety, job training programs, military base conversions, AIDS treatment/funding, traffic congestion

Barbara Lee generated recent publicity for her efforts on international causes, such as the global AIDS epidemic. Lee, however, never strays far from home and frequently weighs in on local issues, ensuring she'll earn an easy second term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 10 (41% D - 41% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Ellen Tauscher of Burlingame. Republican: Claude B. Hutchison Jr. of Lafayette. Natural Law: Valerie Janlois of Danville.

Key Issues: Education reform/vouchers, health insurance, gun safety, prescription drug coverage for seniors, Social Security, transportation/traffic gridlock, environmental protection, tax cuts.

Seeking a third term, incumbent Ellen Tauscher faces a vigorous challenge from Claude Hutchison, chair of the Contra Costa County Republican Party. But Tauscher, a wealthy, avowed New Democrat, will be a particularly difficult target. From her profile-raising television appearance during the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles to her centrist positions on gun control, abortion rights and tax cuts for working families, Tauscher

Tauscher

Hutchison

has managed to carve a niche in this district, despite party registration that is evenly split Democrat and Republican. The moderate Hutchison is considered the GOP's best chance to recapture a district that Tauscher unexpectedly wrested from conservative Bill Baker four years ago. Hutchison's recent endorsement by U.S. Senator John McCain could help attract the district's independent voters. Although Tauscher's campaign has raised almost twice as much money ($1.1 million vs. $593,875), Hutchison is expected to receive a cash infusion this fall from Republican leaders intent on keeping control of the House. Tauscher's camp expects the race to cost up to $1.5 million and is preparing against any last-minute dirty tricks. In 1998, "soft money" was poured into television ads attacking Tauscher's record on tax relief for working families as well as last-minute mailings urging Democrats not to support Tauscher because of her impeachment vote against President Clinton. Hutchison, an East Bay businessman, is aggressively attacking Tauscher as a "Washington insider" who is "out-of-step" with the district. He claims that Tauscher receives more than half her campaign funds from PACs, largely outside the district. Hutchison also has dubbed Tauscher as "Ellen Taxer," saying that her reputation for fiscal conservatism doesn't match her votes on congressional spending. Tauscher considers the open primary's results, where she beat Hutchison 3-to-1, a testament to her appeal across party and ideological lines. She questions Hutchison's pro-choice credentials, citing his endorsements from pro-lifers Baker and Charles Ball, her 1998 opponent. Hutchison says he would support efforts to ban so-called "partial birth" abortion. He also supports

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school vouchers on a pilot program basis while Tauscher opposes any voucher funding. A good race but unlikely that Hutchison will do to Tauscher what she did to Baker two terms ago. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 11 (43% D - 44% R - 8% DS)

Democrat: Tom Y. Santos of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Richard W. Pombo of Tracy. Libertarian: Kathryn A. Russow of Stockton. Natural Law: Jon A. Kurey of Stockton.

Key Issues: Agricultural water, glassy-winged sharpshooter infestation, seasonal unemployment, job development.

Democrats don't have a chance this time against cowboy Congressman Richard Pombo but check back in 2002. Registration slightly favors Republicans but, with a little tinkering during reapportionment, Democrats might have a shot with the right candidate. Although he's currently running for the state Senate, Assemblyman Michael Machado has been asked by congressional Democrats to consider just such a challenge in the future. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 12 (53% D - 24% R - 19% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Lantos of San Mateo. Republican: Mike Garza of San Francisco. Libertarian: Barbara J. Less of Pacifica. Natural Law: Rifkin Young of San Francisco.

Key Issues: Overcrowded classrooms, aging schools, traffic congestion, BART extension to San Francisco International Airport, affordable housing, minimum wage, HMO reform.

Incumbent Tom Lantos was first elected to Congress in November 1980 by the lowest margin of any member of Congress that year — 46 percent to his opponent's 43 percent. But since then, the Hungarian-born Lantos, a Holocaust survivor and member of the anti-Communist student movement as a teenager, has infinitely raised his profile along with his political odds, ensuring he easily wins an 11th term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 25% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Fortney "Pete" Stark of Fremont. Republican: James R. Goetz of Fremont. American Independent: Don J. Grundmann of San Leandro. Libertarian: Howard Mora of Fremont. Natural Law: Timothy R. Hoehner of Walnut Creek.

Key Issues: Health insurance coverage, HMO and nursing home reform, teacher quality, improving child-care safety, livable wage, environmental protections, Social Security and Medicare solvency.

Pete Stark, the liberal dean of the Bay Area congressional delegation, won't be barred from the area he has represented since 1973, allowing him to continue efforts to increase oversight and training of nursing home staff. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (47% D - 32% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Anna G. Eshoo of Palo Alto. Republican: Bill Quraishi of El Granada. Libertarian: Joseph W. Dehn III of Stanford. Natural Law: John Black of Palo Alto.

Key Issues: Cyber-crime and Internet security, privacy rights, health care insurance/access, environmental protection.

Seeking her fifth term, the Web-savvy Anna Eshoo, who helped launch Congress' Internet Caucus and began her political career as chief of staff to then-Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy in the 1970s, has this election locked up. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (44% D - 35% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Mike Honda. Republican: Jim Cunneen. Libertarian: Ed Wimmers. All of San Jose. Natural Law: Douglas C. Gorney of Oakland.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, education funding, teacher recruitment and training, business growth, transportation/traffic problems, health care insurance and access.

Republican Congressman Tom Campbell surrendered this seat to run for U.S. Senate against incumbent Democrat Dianne Feinstein, setting the stage for a bruising battle in a highly competitive district that both major parties consider key to controlling the House. In the Democratic corner is state Assemblyman Mike Honda, a popular, well-known candidate with a long history of public service and a

Honda

Cunneen

diverse background as a World War II internee, Peace Corps volunteer, teacher, school board member and Santa Clara County supervisor. On the other side is GOP Assemblyman Jim Cunneen, a moderate Campbell protegé with close ties to the high-tech community. Honda entered the race late after a personal phone call from President Bill Clinton, who urged him to run. Honda got plenty of fund-raising help from Democratic colleagues and survived an all-out, deep-pocket primary campaign against businessman Bill Peacock, a former Carter administration official who spent $1.2 million of his own money. Cunneen, on the other hand, sailed through the primary with only token opposition from architect Dale Mead, whom he handily defeated. But head-to-head in the blanket primary, Honda received substantially more votes (9,662) than Cunneen and led him by 7 percent, despite having several Democratic opponents siphon off support. Cunneen's supporters said they didn't expect to out- poll Honda in the primary, especially after being outspent 9-to-1. Both sides are prepared to shell out between $1.5 million and $2 million each this fall, with large chunks of that expected to come from party leaders. The latest spending reports show the candidates drawing from their parties' traditional bases: Honda from labor and Cunneen from business. Among Honda's main backers are the California Teachers Association, the California Nurses Association, the California Labor Federation and the United Auto Workers. He has collected $831,600. Cunneen's cash, $757,700, came from sources such as the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and high-tech executives. Cunneen's camp is casting Honda as an old-economy labor Democrat, while

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touting their candidate's "new economy" bona fides. Honda shrugs aside the labels and points to his own strong support from the high-tech community. He also has Silicon Valley Democratic Congresswomen Zoe Lofgren and Anna Eshoo singing his praises to this key constituency. Cunneen, on the other hand, is seen as a tireless campaigner who reportedly has been better prepared than Honda during endorsement interviews. But even Cunneen's supporters concede that Honda enters the race with a slight edge, given his higher name recognition and the district's propensity to vote Democratic in top-of-the-ticket races. Decline-to-state registration has increased here in recent years, however, and voters tend to display an independent streak that has caused the district to ping-pong between the parties (prior to Campbell, Democrat Norm Mineta held it for 20 years). Ultimately, the Cunneen-Honda dust-up will become what is known as a "fortnight" race — where victory goes to the candidate who does the best job during the last two weeks of the campaign. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 16 (51%D - 27 % R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Zoe Lofgren of San Jose. Republican: Horace "Gene" Thayn of San Jose. Libertarian: Dennis Michael Umphress of San Jose. Natural Law: Edward J. Klein of Cupertino.

Key Issues: Internet security and cybercrimes, digital divide, technology in education, gun control, health care access.

By focusing a chunk of her energies on technology issues — including Y2K research, patent reform and super-computer exports — incumbent Zoe Lofgren gains another clear shot at a fifth term in this Silicon Valley district. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (51% D - 29% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Sam Farr of Monterey. Republican: Clint Engler of Salinas. Green: E. Craig Coffin of Pacific Grove. Libertarian: Rick S. Garrett of Aptos. Natural Law: Scott R. Hartley of Watsonville. Reform: Larry Fenton of Seaside.

Key Issues: Increasing admissions to state colleges and universities, fostering local tourism, protecting open space, local control of education dollars, privatizing Social Security, gun control.

Incumbent Sam Farr, seeking a fourth term, found himself in a five-way March primary, but the challenge hardly slowed him down; he garnered 82 percent of the Democratic vote. His challengers, mostly from the far left, are representative of an undertow of voters still discontent with Farr for his support of NAFTA and, more recently, the WTO. Clint Engler — the most conservative of the three Republicans who sought the nomination — will have to work hard to convert the 14 percent of voters who backed him in the primary into a tidal wave of support. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 18 (48% D - 37% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Gary A. Condit of Modesto. Republican: Steve R. Wilson of Oakdale. Natural Law: Page Roth Riskin of Watsonville.

Key Issues: Prescription drug coverage for seniors, HMO reform, special education funds, UC Merced, unemployment and economic diversification, reforming the Endangered Species Act and the glassy-winged sharpshooter infestation.

This election may be the last for incumbent "Blue Dog" Democrat Gary Condit if he decides to run for statewide office in 2002. In the meantime, he will have no problem defeating Republican Steve Wilson. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

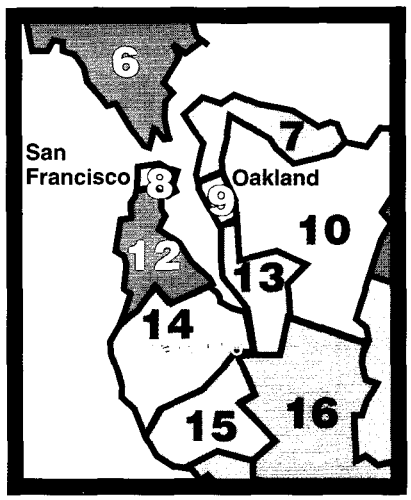
DISTRICT 19 (40% D - 46% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Dan Rosenberg. Republican: Incumbent George Radanovich. American Independent: Edmon V. Kaiser. Libertarian: Elizabeth Taylor. Natural Law: Bob Miller. All of Fresno.

Key Issues: Giant Sequoia National Monument, Westlands Water District, seasonal unemployment, school vouchers, reforming the Endangered Species Act and the glassy-winged sharpshooter infestation.

Incumbent George Radanovich will beat Democratic businessman Dan Rosenberg. But at least Rosenberg is having fun. A Web designer, he has created an Internet site (www.monkeysinspace.org) to poke fun at his "Curious George" opponent. SAFE REPUBLICAN

San Francisco Bay Area



DISTRICT 20 (52% D - 34% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Cal Dooley of Visalia. Republican: Rich Rodriguez of Fresno. Libertarian: Arnold Kriegbaum of Reedley. Natural Law: Walter Kenneth Ruehlig of Antioch.

Key Issues: Giant Sequoia National Monument, seasonal unemployment, agricultural water, immigration and farm workers, Latino high school drop-outs, digital divide.

Republicans think they finally have a solid candidate to challenge Democrat Cal Dooley in this heavily Latino district. After seeing two very conservative white males trounced in the last two elections, Republicans recruited a well-known Latino, Rich Rodriguez, who is a familiar face in the Fresno area as the former anchor of the area's No. 1 TV newscast. As a result, Rodriguez polled well in the March blanket primary, coming in only seven points behind Dooley overall and only two points down in Fresno, which provides the largest chunk of voters. Rodriguez also did well in Kings and Tulare counties, leaving Kern County — outside the Fresno TV market — as the only part of the district where Dooley did noticeably well. Since the primary, Rodriguez has become a proven fund-raiser, pulling in more than $300,000 in six months. Dooley,

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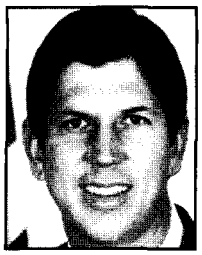
Dooley

Rodriguez

however, had more money on hand as of the July reporting period, $660,000 to $230,000. Rodriguez may receive financial help from congressional Republicans, but that help will depend on whether the race is close in late October. To make his case with leaders back east, Rodriguez has touted a campaign poll showing him leading Dooley 41 percent to 40 percent. The Rodriguez camp also crowed over their candidate's endorsement by the California Farm Bureau, which has stayed neutral in Dooley's past elections. Dooley himself is a farmer but has disagreed with the bureau on some issues, notably those affecting farm workers. Dooley supporters downplayed the Farm Bureau decision, saying the 10-year incumbent still enjoys the individual support of many of the bureau's local board members. He also enjoys broad support throughout the district from various locally elected leaders, including Latinos, many of whom are expected to actively campaign on Dooley's behalf. Whether Rodriguez can pull off an upset will depend in part on George W. Bush's effort in California. Even if Bush doesn't go full-bore throughout the state, Republican leaders are lobbying their presidential candidate to at least put time and resources into the Central Valley, which could boost conservative turnout. In any event, this race will burn a lot of money and stir up more than its share of tummy acid. Each side already has accused the other of fund-raising violations, issuing the first of what likely will be many ugly salvos. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 21 (36% D - 49% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Pedro Martinez Jr. of Porterville. Republican: Incumbent Bill Thomas of Bakersfield. Libertarian: James R. S. Manion of Inyokern.

Key Issues: Reforming the Endangered Species Act, water supply, the glassy-winged sharpshooter infestation, seasonal unemployment, petroleum pricing.

The most dominant pitcher in baseball these days is hard-throwing Pedro Martinez of the Boston Red Sox. But not even that talented athlete could craft a victory against the odds faced by his namesake in this staunchly Republican district. If this were a competitive district, Democrat Martinez would have high heat to toss at 22-year incumbent Bill Thomas. In June, the *Bakersfield Californian* reported that Thomas — the leading House Republican on health-care finance — has been involved in an "intensely personal relationship" with a Washington lobbyist who represents major health-care companies. But that bit of controversy is wasted here. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 22 (40% D - 40% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lois Capps of Santa Barbara. Republican: Mike Stoker of Santa Maria. Libertarian: Joe Furcinite of Santa Maria. Natural Law: J. Carlos Aguirre of Laguna Niguel. Reform: Richard D. "Dick" Porter of San Simeon.

Key Issues: National debt reduction, prescription drug coverage for seniors, local control of education money, streamlining regulations, reducing taxes, Social Security solvency.

After four years of Democratic rule, Republicans expressed some confidence earlier this year that they could recapture this competitive district tailor-made for moderates. Republicans felt incumbent Democrat Lois Capps was too liberal and had won in 1998 only because her GOP opponent proved too conservative. This time, Republicans nominated a moderate: former Santa Barbara County Supervisor Mike Stoker. Capps first won the seat in a special election in 1998 to replace her late husband, Walter, who died in office. Walter Capps himself had won in 1996 by defeating one-term incumbent Republican Andrea Seastrand, a conservative who squeaked into office thanks to the 1994 GOP tidal wave. After Walter Capps died, Republicans chewed themselves

Capps

Stoker

up in a vicious primary that saw conservative Assemblyman Tom Bordonaro emerge victorious over moderate Assemblyman Brooks Firestone. Lois Capps then dispatched Bordonaro twice — in a special election and again in the general. Labels aside, Capps has proven a popular and adept lawmaker, as results of the March blanket primary bear witness. She captured 55 percent of the total vote, including some 4,000 GOP crossovers, and her campaign coffers are brimming with nearly $800,000, 60 percent of it from individual contributors. Relying on business community support, Stoker has been working overtime to loosen Capps' grip, but he suffered a setback this summer when he failed to gain an endorsement from the local Farm Bureau — believed to be the first time the group declined to back a Republican. Stoker is banking on high-level GOP support and, indeed, has tried to cash in on local visits by top-tier Republicans George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, House Majority Leader Dick Armey and House Speaker Dennis Hastert. Meanwhile, he is one of those Republicans whose success hinges on a large Bush groundswell in November. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 23 (40% D - 40% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Michael Case of Ventura. Republican: Incumbent Elton Gallegly of Simi Valley. Libertarian: Roger Peebles of Simi Valley. Natural Law: Stephen Hospodar of Santa Barbara. Reform: Cary Savitch of Ventura.

Key Issues: Modernize schools and expand after-school programs, privacy of medical/financial records, prescription drug coverage for seniors, patients' bill of rights, tobacco settlement money.

Forty years ago, young, middle-class families in search of quality public schools, safe streets and afford-

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able housing were inclined to flee urban Los Angeles for the San Fernando Valley. Nowadays, they flee the Valley for neighboring Ventura County, nearly all of which lies within this district. The migration actually has been under way for more than a decade, and the soccer moms and upwardly mobile Asians and Latinos who are part of it helped Bill Clinton win the district in both 1992 and 1996. Gray Davis carried it by a comfortable 12 points in the 1998 governor's race, and even liberal Democrat Barbara Boxer won here, albeit narrowly, in her U.S. Senate re-election bid that year. All of which suggests that the voters of the 23rd are probably more moderate than Elton Gallegly, the conservative Republican who has represented them since 1986. Whether he is truly vulnerable this year is another matter. In 1992, Democrat and pro-choice activist Anita Perez Ferguson had the money and energy to give him a serious race. Gallegly won it by 13 points and hasn't faced a real challenge since. This year his opponent is former Air Force Captain Michael Case, a wealthy lawyer and current president of the Ventura County Bar Association. The Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee made some early noises about this district—DCCC Chairman Patrick Kennedy of Rhode Island passed through in April — and Case's troops say their campaign, which as of June 30 had $214,000 in the bank, is going full-speed ahead. But Gallegly captured 63 percent of the vote in the open primary, outpolling Case by nearly 50,000 votes. And he is sitting on more than $1 million. With more promising targets in three other California congressional races, there is much to suggest that Democrats will concentrate their real energies elsewhere and let demographics and some artful recarving of the 23rd's boundaries become Gallegly's headache for 2002. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 24 (45% D - 37% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Brad Sherman of Woodland Hills. Republican: Jerry Doyle of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Juan Carlos Ros of Tarzana. Natural Law: Michael Cuddehe of Laguna Niguel.

Key Issues: Freeway congestion, prescription drug coverage, local school district seceding from LA Unified, Social Security reform, school vouchers and tax-free education savings accounts.

In the March blanket primary, two-term incumbent Democrat Brad Sherman amassed 50,000 more votes than did his GOP opponent, actor Jerry Doyle. An omen, perhaps, of results to come. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 45% R -13% DS)

Democrat: Sid Gold of Granada Hills. Republican: Incumbent Howard P. "Buck" McKeon of Santa Clarita. Libertarian: Bruce R. Acker of Chatsworth. Natural Law: Mews Small of Santa Monica.

Key Issues: Eliminate marriage penalty and death taxes, replenish Social Security, development of local gravel mine, ban on gifts by lobbyists, limit salaries/profits of health insurance companies.

In the year of California's Sesquicentennial, Democrats have nominated an appropriately named candidate — Sid Gold. It's a nice historical touch, but the mother lode of votes still sits beneath four-term incumbent Buck McKeon's claim. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 (59% D - 22% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Howard Berman of Mission Hills. Libertarian: Bill Farley of Sun Valley. Natural Law: David L. Cossak of Valley Village.

Key Issues: Economic development, prescription drug benefits for seniors, intellectual property rights, airport noise.

In months to come, the looming 2001 reapportionment may cause a few nightmares for Los Angeles-area congressmen — including Howard Berman — but the nine-term Democrat won't lose any sleep over this election. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (44% D - 37% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Adam Schiff of Pasadena. Republican: Incumbent James Rogan of Montrose. Libertarian: Ted Brown of San Gabriel. Natural Law: Miriam R. Hospodar of Santa Barbara.

Key Issues: Run-away movie production, teacher tenure and competency testing, school vouchers, Social Security solvency and prescription drug benefits for seniors.

Schiff

Rogan

It's worth pondering whether this once solidly Republican district would have become an arena for the most competitive and closely watched congressional race in the country if Republican James Rogan had *not* been a leading player in the Clinton impeachment proceedings. While the 27th was clearly trending more Democratic with each election cycle during the late 1980s and early 1990s, the seven-point victory margin that sent Rogan to Congress in 1996 seemed to suggest Republicans could still hold their own — at least until the next redistricting, when the district would undoubtedly be rearranged to suit Democratic interests. The economic and demographic changes in the affluent foothill communities that makeup the district just north and east of Los Angeles have been striking. Aside from increases in middle- and upper-middle class Asian and Hispanic voters, the 27th now also includes a very large and politically cohesive Armenian population. Rogan has been courting that Glendale-based community assiduously. Aerospace, centered in the Burbank portion of the district, was a dominating force well into the 1980s. Today, however, the district's economic backbone is the entertainment industry, which has meant an influx of the technicians, stage hands, craftspeople and non-celebrity actors and writers who make up the real work force of showbiz. They are younger, hipper and more socially liberal than the constituents they are replacing. Rogan, meanwhile, is no GOP moderate. He opposes most gun control and abortion, favors school vouchers and backed Proposition 187. But in 1996

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he was seen as a likeable, effective Assembly member, who was perceived by constituents as fair-minded. Then came the great partisan clatter over the Monica Lewinsky scandal. Rogan's harsh criticisms of President Clinton cost the congressman both votes and good will, trimming his victory margin in 1998 to 5 percent and inciting both the local and national Democratic establishment to make him Target No. 1 this year. Even so, this contest is no slam dunk for Democrats, which is one reason why it took them a while to convince state Senator Adam Schiff to enter the fray. The two have tangled before, six years ago in a special Assembly election and in the subsequent general. Schiff lost both times, but he made it to Sacramento in 1996 after defeating termed-out Assemblywoman Paula Boland for a Senate seat vacated by term limits. The 40-year-old Schiff and 43-year-old Rogan are well matched as candidates. Both earned impressive legal credentials before turning to politics — Rogan as a deputy district attorney in Los Angeles County and later as a municipal court judge; Schiff as a criminal prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's Office. This past session, he chaired the Senate Judiciary Committee. Neither candidate will lack for money, and both campaigns have been spending what they have on cable TV ads since early summer. As of June 30, the candidates each reported roughly $1.1 million on hand. Many Democrats are downright cocky about the race, insisting that the underlying shift in demographics here, plus a sizable gain in new Democratic registration since the primary, make it Schiff's to lose. Others in the Democratic party ranks aren't so sanguine about the race, particularly if Republicans energized by the Bush candidacy turn out in force, and Democrats, who may take Al Gore's lead in California for granted, decide to stay home. Win or lose, Rogan is hardly washed up. If the GOP takes the White House, he would be an obvious choice for the federal bench, and if the Democrats remain at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, he is widely expected to take a run at state Attorney General Bill Lockyer in 2002. Either way, the contest promises to be another of the state's "fortnight" campaigns decided on the basis of momentum into the final stretch. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (41% D - 41% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Janice Nelson of Sierra Madre. Republican: Incumbent David Dreier of Covina. American Independent: Joe "Jay" Haytas of Azusa. Libertarian: Randall G. Weissbuch of Arcadia. Natural Law: Lawrence Allison of Claremont.

Key Issues: Strengthening Social Security and Medicare, high-tech job creation, prescription drug coverage, improved health care.

Since his election to Congress in 1980, David Dreier has steadily risen through the ranks and now holds one of the most powerful posts in the House of Representatives — chairman of the Rules Committee. He received 62 percent of the vote in the March blanket primary and likely will repeat that performance in November. But Democrat Janice Nelson, a pathology professor from Sierra Madre, is trying to jump-start her campaign with a private poll showing Dreier out of touch with constituents on a wide range of key issues. She's touting the poll among congressional Democrats, hoping they'll dump a carload of money into her campaign. She'll need the help. As of June 30, Nelson had $36,000 in her treasury. Dreier had $2.3 million. Still, Democrats are flush enough with money this year, and desperate enough to retake the House, that they may probe this district during the coming weeks to see if Nelson's poll reflects reality or merely wishful thinking. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 29 (55% D - 24% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Henry Waxman of Beverly Hills. Republican Jim Scileppi of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Jack Anderson of San Diego. Natural Law: Bruce Currivan of Irvine.

Key Issues: Prescription drug insurance, MTBE in drinking water, health coverage for uninsured children, environmental protections, computer privacy, Social Security.

Democrat Henry Waxman has been in Congress for more than a quarter-century and faces little challenge in his effort to secure a 14th term in the House. But Waxman is another of those Westside lawmakers whose future depends on the 2001 reapportionment and the ambitions of those who may have the most to say about new districts; namely, termed-out state legislators looking for new political digs. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 30 (62% D - 18% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Xavier Becerra of Los Angeles. Republican: Tony Goss of West Hollywood. Libertarian: Jason E. Heath of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Gary D. Hearne of Culver City.

Key Issues: Teacher shortages, school facility repairs, computer technology in classrooms, shortage of county hospital beds, expanding health insurance to uninsured, improving Glendale Freeway congestion.

If four-term incumbent Xavier Becerra seems distracted this election season, it may be because he also is running for mayor of Los Angeles in 2001. Not that the distraction will derail his re-election to Congress. In the March primary, his vote total was nearly six times that of his opponents' combined effort. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (57% D - 23% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Hilda L. Solis of Rosemead. Green: Krista Lieberg-Wong of Alhambra. Libertarian: Michael McGuire of Los Angeles. Natural Law: Richard Griffin of Claremont.

Key Issues: Credentialed teachers, computer access in classrooms, community health clinics, San Gabriel River environment, amnesty for undocumented immigrants, delays in obtaining citizenship.

It was an interesting spring for state Senator Hilda Solis. In March, she knocked off nine-term incumbent Marty Martinez in the Democratic primary, sending a shiver through the hearts of other congressional incumbents whose futures also may depend upon the ambitions of state legislators. (Martinez graciously accepted defeat by defecting to the Republican Party.) Then in May, Solis became the first woman to receive the prestigious

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Profile in Courage Award from the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston, given annually since 1989. The previous winner was U.S. Senator John McCain. Solis was cited for efforts to win environmental protections for minority communities. With no Republican opponent, this district is.... SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (72% D - 12% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Julian C. Dixon. Republican: Kathy Williamson. Both of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Bob Weber. Natural Law: Rashied Jibri. Both of Culver City.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, lack of credentialed teachers, gang-related crime, lack of adequate housing, public transportation, prescription drug pricing, commercial development.

Democrat Julian Dixon has been in Congress for more than two decades, and re-election is a given. But Dixon is one of those veteran congressmen who may need to keep a watchful eye on reapportionment. The area is rife with state lawmakers — namely, Kevin Murray, Herb Wesson and Rod Wright — who may seek a safer haven than the term-limited Legislature. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

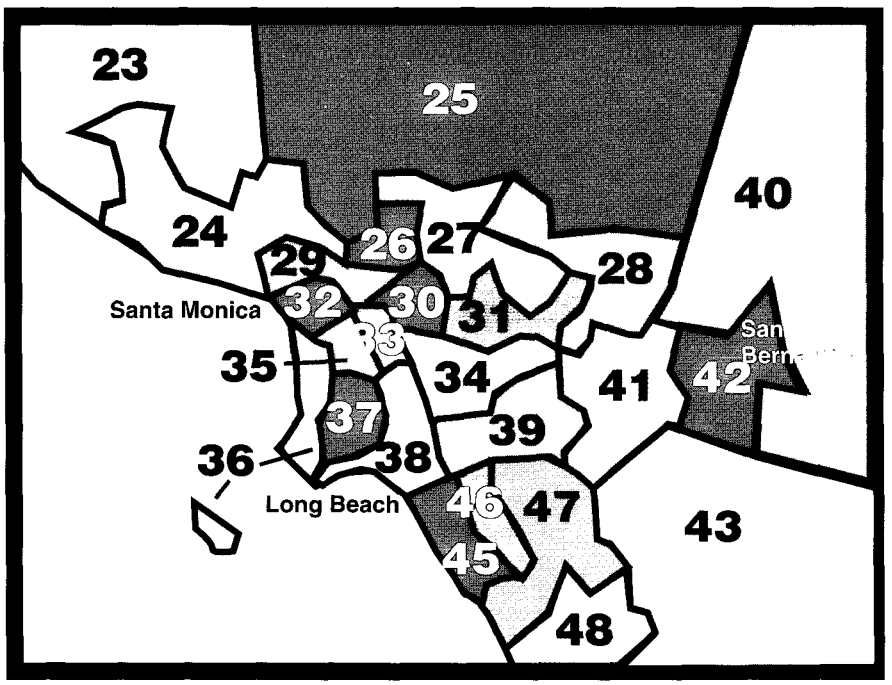
DISTRICT 33 (67% D - 14% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard of Bell Gardens. Republican: Wayne Miller of South Gate. Libertarian: Nathan Thomas Craddock of Los Angeles. Natural Law: William Harpur of San Diego.

Key Issues: Overcrowded and dilapidated schools, school drop-out rates, health insurance for working poor, prescription drug pricing, home ownership for low-income families, economic development, mass transit, immigration status for Mexican, Salvadoran and Honduran nationals.

In terms of per-capita income, this is the poorest congressional district in the country. Ironically, it also is downtown Los Angeles, home to both the Staples Center and the 2000 Democratic National Convention this past August. It also is home turf for four-term incumbent Lucille Roybal-Allard, daughter of Ed Roybal, a pioneer Latino politician who also represented this area. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

Los Angeles Area



DISTRICT 34 (60% D - 24% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Grace Napolitano of Norwalk. Republican: Robert Arthur Canales of Whittier. Natural Law: Julia F. Simon of San Diego.

Key Issues: Job loss, prescription drug pricing, lack of credentialed teachers, Colorado River contamination, cuts in medical assistance for veterans, change of registry laws for immigrants, open border with Mexico.

A former state legislator, Democrat Grace Napolitano won this district two years ago after a bitter primary with Jamie Casso, son-in-law of the Democrat who retired from the seat in 1998 — Esteban Torres. This time around, Napolitano can coast. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 35 (74% D - 10% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Maxine Waters of Los Angeles. Republican: Carl McGill of Inglewood. American Independent: Gordon Michael Mego of Hawthorne. Natural Law: Rick Dunstan of Walnut Creek.

Key Issues: Expansion of Los Angeles International Airport, administration of Los Angeles Unified School District, access to health care and health insurance, digital divide, maintenance of public bus systems, educational opportunities for high school drop-outs, excess fees charged for wiring money to Mexico.

Democrat Maxine Waters made a splash of sorts at the Democratic convention this summer by grumping publicly about presidential nominee Al Gore's choice for his running mate — U.S. Senator Joe Lieberman. Seems Waters wasn't happy with some of Lieberman's more moderate views but, in the end, she endorsed the ticket. Not that any of this stands in her way in securing a sixth term in Congress. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 36 (41% D - 39% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Jane Harman of Torrance. Republican: Incumbent Steven T. Kuykendall of Torrance. Libertarian: Daniel R. Sherman of Redondo Beach. Natural Law: Matt Ornati of Dana Point. Reform: John R. Konopka of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Special-education funding, school construction, prescription drug pricing, protecting Social Security and Medicare, Internet privacy and taxation, export controls, fiscal discipline on government spending.

Legendary House Speaker Sam Rayburn was famous for greeting new members by noting that many would

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Harman

Kuykendall

not make it back for a second term. And while survival odds for freshmen have improved since Rayburn's day, it remains true, especially in swing districts, that a member's first *re-election*, rather than his or her initial run, tends to be the tougher race. Steve Kuykendall, the moderate Republican who won this seat by a slim 2-point margin in 1998, is about to find this out. He faces a formidable challenge in Jane Harman, who held the seat for three terms before abruptly abandoning it for a disastrous run in the '98 gubernatorial primary. Harman doubts that constituents believe she abandoned the seat, arguing that, in fact, many voters still consider her the incumbent. But despite three victories in past elections, Harman has never faced an opponent as popular or well positioned as Kuykendall. Besides being the incumbent in this race, Kuykendall is ideologically compatible with the district and has his own proven track record at the polls, having represented the area in the Assembly from 1994 to 1998. Like Harman before him, Kuykendall holds a seat on the House Armed Services Committee and is thus well situated to steer important funding to a district where defense and aerospace still are important industries. Money should be no problem for either candidate, since this race is high on national priority lists for both parties. Initially, Harman out-raised Kuykendall, plus she has the advantage of very deep personal pockets. This Long Beach/Los Angeles area is an election season hotbed, with highly competitive races for both its Assembly seats and a "must-watch" race for state Senate on the same ballot. In the end, this is another of the "fortnight" races to be decided during the final two weeks of the campaign. It also will hinge on whatever boost is provided by the top of the ticket. If Republican presidential contender George W. Bush abandons California, as did national GOP campaigns in 1992 and 1996, Kuykendall likely will suffer the consequences of fatally low Republican turnout on Election Day. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 37 (72% D - 12% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Juanita Millender-McDonald of Carson. Republican: Vernon Van of Long Beach. Libertarian: Herb Peters of Carson. Natural Law: Margaret Glazer of Walnut Creek.

Key Issues: Urban economic development, affordable housing for seniors, loans for first-time home buyers, teacher credentialing.

There is a marked similarity between this contest and the massacre taking place in the 35th Congressional District. In both cases, Democratic registration exceeds 70 percent. And in both cases, the Natural Law candidate hails from Walnut Creek, an East Bay suburb of San Francisco. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

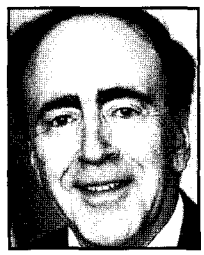
DISTRICT 38 (51% D - 31% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Gerrie Schipske. Republican: Incumbent Steve Horn. Libertarian: Jack Neglia. Natural Law: Karen Blasdell-Wilkinson. All of Long Beach.

Key Issues: Beach and harbor pollution, Boeing aircraft plant closure, school safety, attracting high-wage jobs.

No one intended this district — which includes Long Beach, Lakewood, Paramount, Bellflower and Downey — to be safe for either major party when its lines were drawn in 1991. But former college president Steve Horn, the moderate Republican who captured this seat in 1992, has not only survived but has managed to win by comfortable margins, despite swelling Democratic registration. The seven-point margin Democrats held eight years ago has ballooned to 20 points, or about 59,000 voters. Horn is always a tempting target, but as the campaign season goes on, the smart money — both in and out of state — tends to flow to aspiring Democrats in more promising venues. This year, Democrats are flush with cash and close

Schipske


Horn

enough to retaking the House that they can afford to be more daring. That, and the sheer tenacity of Horn's opponent, Gerrie Schipske, account in large part for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee's decision in late summer to officially target this race. For Schipske, a nurse practitioner and health-care attorney, that decision is something of a personal triumph. Four years ago, she ran against then-Assemblyman Steve Kuykendall in the 54th Assembly District and came within 1,200 votes of defeating him. State party leaders now acknowledge with some guilt that, if they helped fund Schipske, she would have won. Schipske since has hired TV advisers, a direct-mail firm and a pollster for what she says will be an $850,000 campaign. Schipske has strong backing from the Service Employees International Union, for whom she's worked as a policy analyst, and has hired a professional field team to help train campaign volunteers. Horn, a respected political scientist whose Washington, D.C., experience dates back to the 1950s, is known for no-frills campaigns managed by his son, and for not taking PAC money. His most costly campaign was in 1996 when he spent $470,000 to fend off Democrat Rick Zbur, who spent over $1 million and lost by 10 points. As of June 30, Horn had $400,000 cash on hand, about four times as much as Schipske. Previous opponents have tried and failed to cast doubts on Horn's credentials as a campaign-finance reformer; a clumsy hit piece distributed in April by the state Democratic Party — presumably on Schipske's behalf — suggests that she may follow a similar strategy. Although Horn is pro-choice, favors gun control and opposes private-school vouchers, he has voted for Republican bills on tax cuts and pre-

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scription-drug benefits, issues that Schipske might exploit to better advantage. She led the Democratic pack in the blanket primary with about 32 percent of the party vote but garnered only 15 percent of the total votes cast. Horn, on the other hand, won 50 percent of the total. In other districts, that margin of victory would strike fear into the heart of an incumbent; here, it remains testimony to Horn's enduring appeal. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (38% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Gill G. Kanel of Fullerton. Republican: Incumbent Ed Royce of Fullerton. Libertarian: Keith D. Gann of Cypress. Natural Law: Ron Jevning of Tustin.

Key Issues: Social Security, marriage tax, federal debt.

Al Gore has a better chance of winning Texas than Democrat Gill Kanel has of winning this seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 40 (37% D - 46% R - 12% DS)

Republican: Incumbent Jerry Lewis of Redlands. Libertarian: Jay Lindberg of San Bernardino. Natural Law: Frank N. Schmit of Aptos.

Key Issues: Improvement in schools, urban crime, traffic congestion, construction of the Foothill Freeway, economic development, air quality.

Jerry Lewis is regarded as an entertainment god in France. But not *this* Jerry Lewis, who represents a very quiet slice of the Inland Empire. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 41 (39% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Rodolfo G. Favila of Ontario. Republican: Incumbent Gary G. Miller of Diamond Bar. Natural Law: David Kramer of Chino Hills.

Key Issues: Local control for schools, Santa Ana River watershed, ground water contamination, Endangered Species Act's impact on development, transportation within the Alameda Corridor, tax burden on middle-income families, Prado Dam flood control project.

The war in this region will take place in the 61st Assembly District, 40 percent of which overlaps this congressional enclave. Meanwhile, freshman Republican Gary Miller will meander quietly along the election path to a second term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 42 (51% D - 34% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Joe Baca of San Bernardino. Republican: Elia Pirozzi of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: John "Scott" Ballard of Phelan. Natural Law: Gwyn Hartley of Watsonville.

Key Issues: Attracting high-quality teachers, smaller class size, expanding after-school programs, accountability for low-performing schools, health-care prevention and treatment programs, more funding for police.

This November will mark the third time Democrat Joe Baca and Republican Elia Pirozzi have faced off in the past 12 months. Baca defeated Pirozzi in a November 1999 special election to replace the legendary George Brown Jr., the Democrat who died after serving in Congress for some 40 years. Baca then bested Pirozzi by some 20,000 votes in the March 2000 blanket primary. Now comes November 2000 — the proverbial third strike for Pirozzi. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 43 (36% D - 43% R - 11% DS)

Republican: Incumbent Ken Calvert of Riverside. Libertarian: Bill Reed of Perris. Natural Law: Nat Adam of Irvine.

Key Issues: Traffic congestion, improving school test scores, Endangered Species Act, Murrieta-Temecula Wash flood control project, air pollution, adequate water supply and water quality, economic opportunity, veterans' retirement programs.

Hard to believe that a Democrat nearly captured this seat in 1992 when Mark Takano lost to Republican Ken Calvert by only a few hundred votes. Since then, Democratic registration has plummeted 6 percent in this Inland Empire district, which is one reason why Democrats didn't even apply this year. A moderate, Calvert easily dispatched a pair of conservative challengers in the March primary and now is poised to win his fifth term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 44 (40% D - 45% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Ron Oden. Republican: Incumbent Mary Bono. Both of Palm Springs. Natural Law: Jim Meuer. Reform: Gene Smith. Both of Rancho Mirage.

Key Issues: Salton Sea restoration, prescription drug benefits for seniors, immigration reform, border enforcement, Social Security, Palm Springs airport radar

The primary in this district attracted such a big crowd that it looked like the ballot for an open seat. Not only did incumbent Republican Mary Bono draw a GOP challenger, but four — count 'em, four — Democrats plunged into the fray. Palm Springs Councilman Ron Oden won the Democratic primary, but one of his opponents captured the most attention when he earned the endorsement of Bono's mother-in-law. Bono, of course, is the widow of entertainer-turned-politician Sonny Bono, who died in a 1998 skiing accident. She subsequently won a special election to replace her husband and this year will win another term to establish her credentials before reapportionment scrambles districts in the Inland Empire. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 45 (31% D - 49% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Ted Crisell of Huntington Beach. Republican: Incumbent Dana Rohrabacher of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Don Hull of Costa Mesa. Natural Law: Constance Betton of Newport Beach.

Key Issues: Flood insurance, beach erosion, coastal pollution, special education funding, affordable housing.

Two years ago, Democrat Patricia Neal raised $300,000 and hired campaign consultants to battle surfer congressman Dana Rohrabacher — and she still lost by 20 points in this very Republican district. This time it's Ted Crisell's turn; he has no consultants and minus-$300 in the bank. Mercy. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 46 (45% D - 36% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Loretta Sanchez of Santa Ana. Republican: Gloria Matta Tuchman of Santa Ana. Libertarian: Richard B. Boddie of Huntington Beach. Natural Law: Larry Engwall of Santa Ana.

Key Issues: School safety, marriage tax, quality health care.

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Sanchez

Tuchman

After watching Loretta Sanchez dispose of arch-conservative Bob "B-1" Dornan in 1996 and 1998, Republicans found what they thought was the ideal challenge for the Latina congresswoman: another Latina. Gloria Matta Tuchman gained notoriety two years ago when she co-authored Proposition 227, which did away with bilingual instruction in California public schools. Tuchman, a former school teacher, also ran for superintendent of public instruction in 1998, losing to incumbent Delaine Eastin. Tuchman's campaign was well funded, thanks to sizable contributions from conservative financiers, such as Home Savings heir Howard Ahmanson and Wal-Mart heir John Walton. But those same supporters haven't ponied up for Tuchman's congressional race. Her June finance report showed only $67,000 in the bank, while Sanchez held a whopping $1.5 million. Sanchez' fund-raising efforts, meanwhile, have become the stuff of late-night talk shows, following the well-publicized spat between her and Vice President Al Gore's campaign over her plans to host a fund raiser at Hugh Hefner's Playboy mansion during the Democratic National Convention. After numerous threats from the Gore camp, Sanchez reluctantly moved the event to B.B. King's Blues Club, raising $500,000 for her Hispanic Unity USA political action committee. Since the Playboy uproar, Tuchman's campaign has tried to turn the brouhaha into a campaign issue. Two mailers — one to Democrats and another to Latinos — hit the district in late August, criticizing Sanchez for promoting a message of "immorality, sexual exploitation and degradation of women." But it will take more than Playboy for Tuchman to oust the popular Sanchez. The congresswoman out-polled Tuchman and another Republican in the March primary by almost 12,000 votes. Sanchez is still popular among the district's sizable Latino population, and she knows how to court support from the area's Vietnamese community and moderate Republicans. Having fought two grueling election battles in the past against Dornan, Sanchez should have an easier time this year, though she will be ready to deploy her mammoth treasury if Tuchman becomes any kind of threat. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 47 (29% D - 53% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: John Graham of Irvine. Republican: Incumbent Christopher Cox of Newport Beach. Libertarian: David F. Nolan of Lake Forest. Natural Law: Iris Adam of Irvine.

Key Issues: Newport Bay cleanup, beach pollution, dilapidated county sewage system, special education funding, marriage tax.

Incumbent Christopher Cox considered running against U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer in 1998 and U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein this year. He also was rumored to be on George W. Bush's long list of VP candidates. Cox will be returning to Washington, D.C., next year, but with the same job title he's held since 1988. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 48 (27% D - 53% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Peter Kouvelis of Dana Point. Republican: Darrell Issa of Vista. Libertarian: Joe Michael Cobb of Dana Point. Natural Law: Sharon K. Miles of Laguna Niguel. Reform: Eddie Rose of Laguna Niguel.

Key Issues: Conversion of El Toro Marine Base, electricity deregulation, status of border checkpoints at San Clemente and Temecula, overcrowded schools, teacher quality, defense spending.

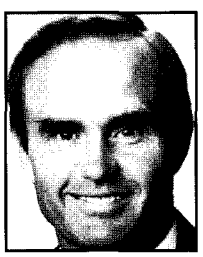
This seat — opened up by the retirement of longtime Republican Ron Packard — was won in March when businessman Darrell Issa dominated a 10-candidate slate in the GOP primary. Issa, a car-alarm magnate who unsuccessfully sought the GOP nomination for U.S. Senate in 1998, spent $1.5 million of his own money to surpass state Senator Bill Morrow and eight lesser-rans. Only Issa and Morrow cracked 10 percent of the GOP vote in the March primary, although the field also included Mark Dornan, son of former GOP Congressman Bob Dornan. The fall election ought to be rather serene for voters in this San Diego-Orange-Riverside county district, a blessing given the heavily negative tenor of the primary campaign between Issa and Morrow. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 49 (39% D - 37% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Susan A. Davis of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Brian P. Bilbray of Imperial Beach. Libertarian: Doris Ball. Natural Law: Tahir I. Bhatti. Both of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, beach erosion and pollution, air pollution from Mexico, patients' bill of rights.

Davis


Bilbray

In a normal year, San Diego hosts a plethora of bruising election battles because its voters tend to be independent-minded and not terribly loyal to either Republicans or Democrats. But 2000 is shaping up as not-so-ordinary, thanks to one issue that dominated the early stages of the campaign: Electricity deregulation. San Diego was the first venue in the state to feel the full effects of a 1996 state law deregulating the energy industry — and the results were not pretty: Electricity bills this past summer for both individual and business consumers often doubled in just one month. That kind of gut-level, immediate-impact issue can send voters in search of political scapegoats and put at risk the career of any public official within an area code of the problem. And so it is with the 49th Congressional District, where two historically popular elected officials are squaring off in a campaign complicated by the energy de-

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bacle. In the crosshairs are three-term incumbent Republican Brian Bilbray, a perennial Democratic target, and termed-out Democratic Assemblywoman Susan Davis. Neither candidate is a stranger to tough re-election campaigns. Two years ago, Bilbray narrowly defeated San Diego City Councilwoman Christine Kehoe who, like Davis, was a proven vote-getter. Bilbray is one of the top national targets for congressional Democrats as they try to win back the House; thus, money will be no object. Each side is poised to spend as much as $1.5 million or more, depending on how much television time the campaigns buy. On paper, Davis is regarded as the perfect opponent for Bilbray — a centrist woman Democrat running in an area that has a history of electing women to office. She has high name identification throughout the district, thanks to her stints in Sacramento and as a local school board trustee. Bilbray himself is no slouch in the popularity department, with an electoral track record that dates back to the mid-1970s and his days as mayor of Imperial Beach. In addition, he served a decade on the San Diego Board of Supervisors before his election to Congress in 1994. He also is well known as a devoted surfer — an asset in an area dominated by beach culture. Deregulation aside, Davis' challenge will be to convince the area's large bloc of independent voters that Bilbray no longer represents their interests, and to dismantle the widely held notion that he is a maverick who often breaks ranks with GOP leadership. To that end, her allies hammered him for supporting GOP leadership on a recent vote over prescription-drug pricing for seniors. Ads to that effect already have run on San Diego TV, financed by soft money from the AFL-CIO. The *San Diego Union Tribune*, among others, rallied to Bilbray's defense, calling the ad campaign a smear job. Expect the incumbent to answer by reminding voters that he allied himself with U.S. Senator John McCain on campaign finance reform, voted to allow patients to sue their HMOs, backed an increase in the minimum wage and supported gun control and a woman's right to choose. Bilbray also will emphasize his record on the environment, especially efforts to clean up San Diego beaches and deal with pollution seeping across the border from Mexico. But the centerpiece of Bilbray's campaign likely will be an attempt to tie Davis firmly to what has become her principal vulnerability: electricity deregulation. Davis voted for the 1996 deregulation bill. She attempted to insulate herself in the waning days of the 2000 Legislature by joining with another besieged San Diego Democrat — state Senator Dede Alpert — to find a legislative solution to the problem. Although Davis' recent efforts have deflected some of the criticism, the business community remains upset that it was not granted much relief from the staggeringly high rates. At the time, Bilbray supported deregulation but, as a Washington, D.C. lawmaker, took no part in the Sacramento debate; thus, his vulnerability on the issue is minimal. Some observers believe the electricity crisis will be a distant memory come November, and that voters will credit Davis for taking swift, corrective action. If so, she can thank her Democratic colleagues in Sacramento for allowing her and Alpert to take the lead in crafting a temporary solution. That said, the energy crisis nonetheless changed Davis' campaign tactics, forcing her off message and onto the defensive as the campaign got under way. Ultimately, the fate of Bilbray and Davis hinges on how well each side pulls voters to the polls on Election Day. Some of that depends on factors beyond the control of the two candidates; namely, top-of-the-ticket races for president and U.S. Senate. Democrats currently hold a slim registration edge, and have the added advantage of a large decline-to-state constituency that leans Democratic. Yet San Diego is one of those places that confounds the conventional wisdom by scrambling the signals for political success. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 50 (49% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Filner of San Diego. Republican: Bob Divine of Chula Vista. Libertarian: David A. Willoughby. Natural Law: Leeann S. Kendall. Both of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, border traffic, cross-border pollution, traffic congestion, school accountability, fiscal impacts of illegal immigration.

In his two most recent campaigns, four-term incumbent Democrat Bob Filner had Jekyll-and-Hyde elections. In 1996, Hyde showed up and gave Filner a bruiser of a primary; in 1998, it was Jekyll's turn as Filner ran unopposed. He has plenty of opponents in 2000, but this campaign will more closely resemble an easy-going Jekyll than an evil Hyde. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 48% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: George "Jorge" Barraza of San Diego. Republican: Incumbent Randy "Duke" Cunningham of Escondido. Libertarian: Daniel L. Muhe of Carlsbad. Natural Law: Eric Hunter Bourdette of Solana Beach.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, beach closures, sand erosion, fiscal and cultural impacts of illegal immigration, water quality, traffic congestion

News flash: Randy "Duke" Cunningham is seeking his sixth term in Congress. Randy "Duke" Cunningham will win his sixth term in Congress. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 52 (37% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Craig Barkacs of La Mesa. Republican: Incumbent Duncan Hunter of La Mesa. Libertarian: Michael Benoit of Santee. Natural Law: Robert A. Sherman of Del Mar.

Key Issues: Electricity deregulation, defense-based jobs, Salton Sea restoration, New River cleanup, smuggling of undocumented aliens, illegal drug trafficking, medical costs incurred by immigrants injured or killed trying to enter the country illegally

Democrats need seven seats nationally to wrest control of the U.S. House of Representatives from Republicans and believe they can capture at least four of those seats in California. This is not one of them. SAFE REPUBLICAN

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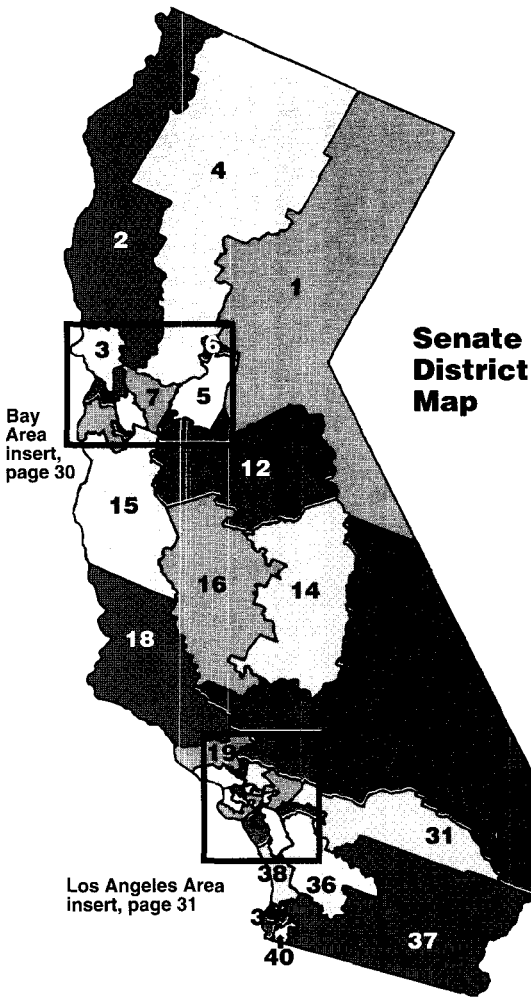
State Senate

Editor's Key: *Those districts considered "hot" races are marked with a flame. We also list the percentage of registered Democrats, Republicans and "Decline-to-State" (DS) voters in each district. For the first time, based on extensive interviews with candidates throughout the state, we are noting the "Key Issues" in each congressional, Assembly and state Senate district. And, as always, we define each race as "safe," "leans" or a "toss-up."*



DISTRICT 1 (36% D - 45% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Thomas Romero of Loomis. Republican: Thomas "Rico" Oller of San Andreas. Libertarian: Jon Petersen of GrassValley.

Key Issues: Water rights, school vouchers, tax reduction, rural health care, prescription drug costs, urban sprawl.

Rico Oller's heavy lifting is done for this election season now that he's put his Republican challengers behind him. With a modest campaign under way this fall, his bigger chore is paying back the $600,000 he loaned himself during the primary showdown with lobbyist Skip Daum. To that end, he's been pulling in money from numerous insurance, construction and medical PACs. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (55% D - 19% R - 19% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John L. Burton. Republican: Terence Faulkner. Both of San Francisco. Natural Law: Celeste Joy Blau Joki of San Rafael.

Key Issues: Class-size reduction/ crowded schools, school construction and rehabilitation, traffic gridlock/public transit, health care access, mental health services.

Term limits dictate that this will be Senate President pro Tempore John Burton's final four-year term, bringing to an end a political dynasty that began when Burton's brother, Phil, first won an Assembly seat in 1956. Thus, this is John Burton's last hurrah in a political career that spans more than a quarter-century, beginning with his 1974 election to the Assembly. His re-election assured, Burton's challenge is to protect his caucus and potentially expand its already dominant stature in the upper house. To that end, he's sitting on about $3 million. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 5 (44% D - 42% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Michael J. Machado of Stockton. Republican: Alan Nakanishi of Lodi. Libertarian: Carole Brow of Clements. Natural Law: William S. Nicolas of Stockton.

Key Issues: Affordable health care, expansion of job base, infestation of glassy-winged sharpshooter, English proficiency in schools, CAL-FED Bay-Delta program.

Machado

Nakanishi

With incumbent Democrat Pat Johnston termed out, this open seat promises to be one of the biggest Senate battles around. Democrats believe they have the advantage with local Assemblyman Michael Machado, who has represented the district's southern flank in San Joaquin County for three terms. A Linden farmer, Machado is the quintessential Central Valley Democrat, with a moderate-to-conservative voting record that earned him support from both Democrats and Republicans. Machado also is accustomed to bankrolling his own campaigns instead of relying on help from Sacramento leaders, and this time won't be any different. His June campaign finance report showed him with $1 million in the bank, enough for both a full mail and television campaign. If this were 1992 when Johnston was first elected to this seat — and Democrats enjoyed a 12-point registration advantage — Machado would probably be a slam dunk. But Democratic registration eroded steadily during the 1990s as more conservative voters moved into Tracy, Stockton and southern Sacramento County. Republican leaders now believe this seat belongs to them and are committed to helping physician and Lodi councilman Alan Nakanishi, even though he wasn't their first choice. Republicans already have contributed more than $200,000 to Nakanishi, who ran unsuccessfully in 1998 for the Republican nomination in the 10th Assembly District, the northern portion of this

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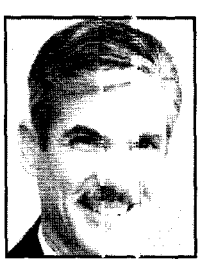
seat. In addition to voter registration trending their way, Republicans also may benefit from George W. Bush's presidential effort in California — assuming there is one. Even if Bush doesn't make a statewide push, Senate GOP leader Jim Brulte has urged the Texas governor to at least work the Central Valley, which could pay dividends for Nakanishi if it boosts GOP turnout in November. Overall, this campaign will be expensive and possibly very ugly. Machado's camp went after Nakanishi before the March primary by sending out mailers criticizing him for not voting in previous elections. Nakanishi, meanwhile, has criticized Machado's support of the CAL-FED Bay-Delta program, which Nakanishi says could hurt local farmers. Machado also may have opened himself to attack from Nakanishi, a Japanese-American born and raised in Sacramento, for reportedly making fun of Nakanishi's English proficiency. Machado has denied making the comments, which were reported in local papers. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 7 (44% D - 38%R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Tom Torlakson of Martinez. Republican: Incumbent Richard Rainey of Walnut Creek. Natural Law: Mark Billings of Pleasant Hill.

Key Issues: Teacher training, smaller class sizes, academic standards, affordable housing, traffic gridlock, growth/sprawl, job creation, gun control, public safety.



Torlakson

Rainey

This is it, folks. The main event: a red-hot, sizzling battle billed as one of the state's most expensive and most bruising Senate races. Both the Democratic and Republican parties have targeted this seat as a top priority and will provide major infusions of cash. The race pits two of the area's best-known and most successful politicians in a district where independent-minded voters have supported both parties in past elections. On another level, the race is a power play between Democratic and Republican leaders — Senate President pro Tempore John Burton and Senate Minority Leader Jim Brulte — both with credibility and prestige at stake in an election year with few real competitive Senate seats. The incumbent, Richard Rainey, formerly a 14-year Contra Costa County sheriff and two-term Assembly member, is calling himself the "pro-business, pro-jobs candidate" while touting his solid anti-crime credentials and record of supporting education reforms. His challenger, Democratic Assemblyman Tom Torlakson, former high school teacher, coach and Contra Costa County supervisor, is stressing his extensive record on labor issues, gun control and transportation funding. In the open primary, Torlakson out-polled Rainey 48 percent to 46 percent, although Rainey had a GOP opponent in Lafayette law clerk Daryl Chilimidos, who siphoned off 4 percent of the vote. Still, it's an uncomfortable margin for any incumbent, especially one who waged an all-out primary campaign, while his Democratic opponent, facing no primary competition, essentially laid low. Both Rainey and Torlakson are elbowing for the center in an effort to appear more moderate. In reality, Rainey is more conservative and Torlakson more liberal than their campaigns would have voters believe. They have been on opposite sides of the spectrum on such issues as health care, environmental protection, business regulation and gay rights. Both have displayed sharp differences on a number of key policy issues that have come before the Legislature. Among them: the eight-hour day, allowing employees to use sick leave to care for family members, and gun control. Torlakson, whose biggest supporters include labor unions, backed the work-related proposals, while Rainey, who usually sides with business, opposed them. On the issue of gun control, Torlakson has long voted for firearms restrictions and believes more are needed. Rainey, on the other hand, has for years voted against most forms of gun control, although last year he supported bans on assault weapons and cheap handguns. This year, Rainey says no additional gun control measures should be approved. In the fund-raising realm, Torlakson far outguns Rainey, primarily through generous cash donations from Senate Democratic leaders who have pledged to spend whatever it takes to recapture the seat that once belonged to Democrat Dan Boatwright, who retired in 1996. Latest campaign finance statements show Rainey with $186,300 cash-on-hand compared to Torlakson's $656,800. In the end, both sides expect to spend at least $2 million. Rainey, who walks precincts every weekend, already has spent lavishly on TV ads, airing commercials touting his commitment to education and HMO reform. Torlakson, who represents half of the Senate district he hopes to snatch, has been campaigning and walking door-to-door for a year-and-a-half. He has mostly spent money on mailings and precinct-walking pieces, but plans to run TV ads featuring former students who say his teaching inspired them. All signs point to a very tight, very long race, decided in the end by how effective each side organizes and manages its get-out-the-vote effort on Election Day. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 9 (66% D - 12% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Don Perata of Alameda. Republican: Linda J. Marshall of Oakland. Libertarian: James M. Eyer of Oakland.

Key Issues: Increased public education funding, adequate pre-school preparation, higher education funding, public transportation/traffic, growth, environmental protection.

Democratic colleagues benefit from Don Perata's powerful fund-raising skills and generosity. As in the past, Perata has spread the wealth — $100,000 worth — to more needy colleagues. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 11 (44% D - 35%R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Byron Sher of

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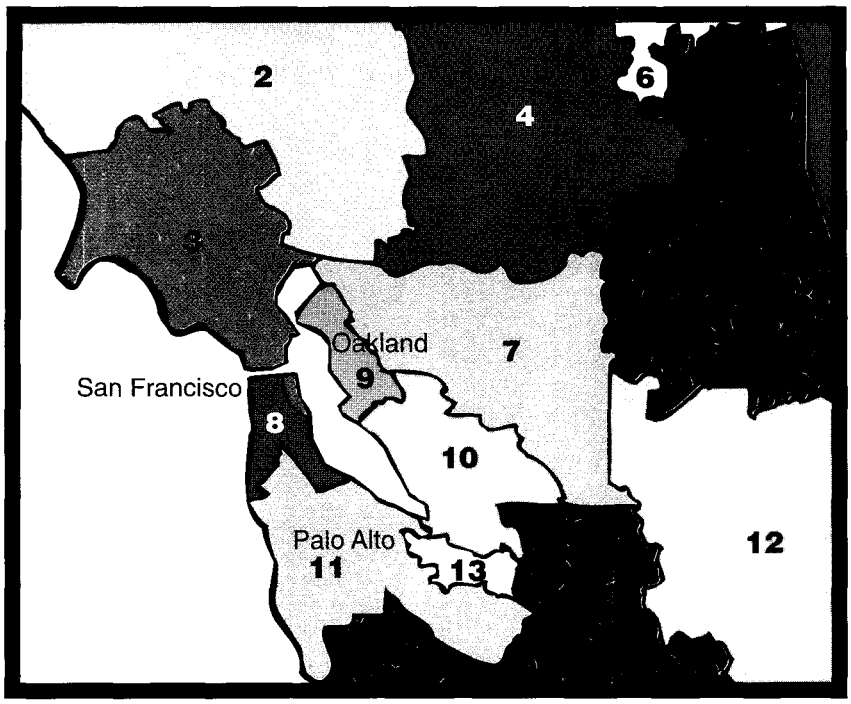
San Francisco Bay Area



Redwood City. Republican: Gloria Hom of Palo Alto. Libertarian: John J. "Jack" Hickey of Emerald Hills.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, traffic congestion, class-size reduction, affordable prescription drugs for seniors, environmental protection.

Byron Sher, a 20-year veteran of Peninsula politics, got a free ride during the primary when termed-out Assemblyman Ted Lempert judiciously backed out of the race. He also dodged a major challenge in November when GOP Assemblyman Jim Cunneen passed on the seat to run for Congress. Sher's challenge this fall comes from Gloria Hom, an economist and community college instructor who drew some pre-primary financial support from Senate Republican leaders. But since the March primary, she has fallen off the priority list due to her lackluster showing at the polls, which had her 18 percent below Sher. This time around she's only received $4,000 from the Senate Republican Leadership fund compared to the $100,000 she received in primary cash from GOP Senate leaders Jim Brulte and Ross Johnson. The latest campaign finance reports show she's got barely enough cash on hand (about $29,000) to wage war on Sher, who's sitting on nearly $1 million. Sher, who says he won't take the race for granted, can't be all that worried since he's already donated to causes such as the California Voter Registration Project, which recently received $10,000 from his campaign coffers. Although considered a credible candidate with strong political ties in Santa Clara County, Hom faces an especially uphill fight if results of the open primary are any indication. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (51% D - 26% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John Vasconcellos. Republican: John Longwell of San Jose. Libertarian: John H. Webster of Santa Clara.

Key Issues: Digital divide, affordable housing, more high-density housing, traffic congestion/public transportation, teacher training and retention, environmental protection.

John Vasconcellos probably could have kept this seat for as long as he wanted, but term limits make this his final term. Already termed-out of the Assembly, this election draws the curtain on Vasconcellos' long legislative career, which began back in 1966. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (49% D - 30% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Anselmo A. Chavez of Salinas. Republican: Incumbent Bruce McPherson of Santa Cruz. Libertarian: Gordon D. Sachtjen of Boulder Creek. Natural Law: David Rosenkranz of Carmel.

Key Issues: Local control of school funds, traffic congestion in Silicon Valley, agricultural protection, coastline preservation, Proposition 13 reform, elderly/poor health care.

On paper, this coastal district is solidly Democratic. It encompasses liberal bastions such as Santa Cruz and is represented by Democrats in both Congress and the Assembly. Only one kind of Republican could win and hold it — an environmentally conscious, pro-choice moderate like Bruce McPherson. McPherson wrested the district from Democrats four years ago after a bruising campaign against former Assemblyman Rusty Areias. He since has solidified his hold, and it would take a Democrat of equal stature to give him a serious challenge. Senate Democratic leader John Burton tried to recruit such a Democrat last year but found no takers, even with a promise of unlimited resources. Thus, McPherson shouldn't have much to worry about in his bid for a second term. But even with $300,000 in the bank, McPherson says the memory of his tussle with Areias hasn't worn off. Even though Democrat Anselmo Chavez pales in political experience and fund-raising prowess, MacPherson is taking nothing for granted. He'll spend all his money to thwart a possible last-minute dump of Democratic dollars into the Chavez campaign. If nothing else, the threat of an ambush — seen as real by other Republicans— ties down McPherson's money and prevents him from sharing it with his cash-strapped caucus. In a sense, this is a bellwether district; if McPherson loses, the Republican wipe-out statewide will be profound. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 17 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Richard Lott of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent William

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J. "Pete" Knight of Palmdale. Libertarian: John R. Gibson of Lancaster. Natural Law: Douglas Wallack of Palmdale.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, traffic congestion on Highways 14 and 138, economic development, status of federal military bases.

The election season in this district is so torpid that we forgot to include it in our post-primary wrap-up. Termed-out Republican Assemblyman Keith Olberg could have made it more lively had he carried through with a potential primary challenge to fellow Republican Pete Knight. But Olberg decided instead to run for secretary of state in 2002. Olberg's decision made life easy for Knight, who captured 67 percent of the primary vote. A former test pilot and member of the Aviation Hall of Fame, Knight is termed out in 2004. SAFE REPUBLICAN

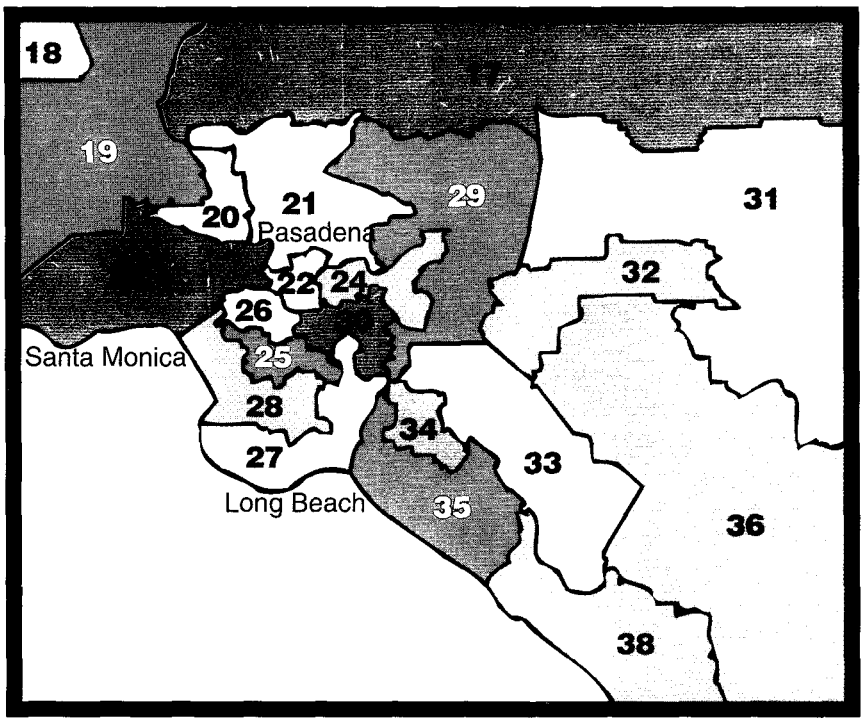
DISTRICT 19 (39% D - 42% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Daniel R. Gonzalez of Simi Valley. Republican: Tom McClintock of Northridge.

Key Issues: Earthquake insurance settlements.

If Democrats had any notion of taking out the Legislature's resident ideological warrior — Assemblyman Tom McClintock — they likely dropped it after a pair of events: the March primary and the Quackenbush investigations. First, McClintock drubbed all comers in the blanket primary, crushing a viable GOP opponent endorsed by both Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan and the termed-out incumbent in this seat, Republican Cathie Wright. In addition, Democrat Daniel Gonzalez managed only 30 percent of the overall vote. Second, McClintock played a significant role in the summer-long probe that ended the career of Insurance Commissioner Charles Quackenbush. McClintock's constituency was at the epicenter of that drama since much of the inquest stemmed from Quackenbush's mishandling of insurance claims from the 1993 Northridge earthquake. A libertarian maverick, McClintock was first elected to the Assembly in 1982. Termed out of that house this year, he likely will assume the same role in the Senate that he often played in the Assembly — that of parliamentary gadfly. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Los Angeles Area



DISTRICT 21 (45% D - 36% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Jack Scott of Altadena. Republican: Paul Zee of South Pasadena. Libertarian: Bob New of Glendale.

Key Issues: Expansion of Burbank airport, affordable housing, school vouchers, budget surplus, 710 Freeway extension.

Scott

Zee

This district — encompassing Burbank, Glendale, Pasadena and the communities that surround Griffith Park — is part of what Democrats began calling "ground zero" in 1996. Adam Schiff captured the open Senate seat that year, replacing termed-out conservative Republican Newt Russell. Schiff's victory was especially sweet for Democrats because they also picked up the two Assembly seats (AD 43 and AD 44) nested beneath it. They lost the overlapping open congressional district (CD 27) to a bright, young GOP Assemblyman named Jim Rogan. But electoral politics have a way of coming full circle. Schiff now is challenging Rogan for Congress; Assemblyman Jack Scott, who won AD 44 in 1996, is hoping to move into Schiff's Senate seat; and the Democrat defeated by Scott in the March Senate primary, Scott Wildman, occupies Rogan's old AD 43. In other words, it's political ground zero all over again, with three open, competitive legislative seats and a doozy of a congressional race — all stacked atop one another. The Democratic tilt in this once solidly Republican territory precedes Schiff's 1996 victory and, since then, GOP registration has dropped by six points. All of this should augur well for Scott, a former Pasadena City College president with a knack for fund raising. He outraised Wildman two-to-one for the primary and won't lack for scratch for November. Senate President pro Tempore John Burton already has directed $1.1 million to the cam-

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paign, and even Governor Gray Davis kicked in $10,000. Scott's GOP opponent, businessman and South Pasadena City Councilman Paul Zee, is no slouch himself in the money department. He received early backing from Senate Republican leadership to the tune of $300,000, then loaned himself $100,000. Zee's ethnicity — he's Asian, born in Hong Kong — should be a plus with voters, since Chinese-Americans account for about 6 percent of district voters. Democrats argue that Zee is too conservative for the district, even though he describes himself as pro-choice and anti-gun. The good news for Scott is that he and Wildman *each* out-polled Zee in the blanket primary, which could mean a very solid base come November. The Democratic primary fight also gave Scott exposure in the San Fernando Valley, where neither he nor Zee is well known. The bad news is that Scott's leading role in the Assembly investigation of former Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush this summer doesn't seem to have boosted his name ID much. Scott's strategists insist this should not be a close race, but some of his major contributors have yet to be convinced. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 23 (52% D - 28% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Sheila Kuehl of Santa Monica. Republican: Daniel B. Rego of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Charles T. Black of Malibu.

Key Issues: Early childhood education, teacher training, run-away film production, health care access, long-term care, Santa Monica Mountains preservation, beach pollution, traffic congestion on I-405.

Democratic Assemblywoman Sheila Kuehl won this seat in the March primary when she easily outdistanced fellow Assemblyman Wally Knox by 40,000 votes. Kuehl, an attorney and former actress, was the Legislature's first openly gay member when she arrived on the scene in 1994 and now will succeed termed-out Democrat Tom Hayden. It is unlikely that even a maharajah's ransom would propel Republican Daniel Rego into office in a district where only 28 percent of registered voters consider themselves Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 25 (69% D - 13% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Edward Vincent of Inglewood. Republican: Cliff McClain of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Health care for seniors/ working poor, teacher pay, school dropout rates, parental involvement in schools, welfare reform, overcrowded and dilapidated schools, mass transit.

As in the 23rd District, the 25th contest was another case of a Democratic primary clash between a pair of termed-out Assembly members. In this case, Ed Vincent scored an impressive victory over cigar-chomping Dick Floyd, whose legislative career began 20 years ago. Despite heavy support from labor allies, Floyd couldn't overcome the charge that he had carpetbagged into the district. Nor could he overcome the solid backing Vincent received from African American and Latino lawmakers. Given GOP registration, Republican challenger Cliff McClain will barely make a dent in November. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (47% D - 35% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Betty Karnette of Long Beach. Republican: Marilyn Lyon of Rancho Palos Verdes.

Key Issues: Transportation funding for Alameda Corridor, teacher training and recruitment, job development, small business incentives.

If anyplace can be considered a quiet corner of Long Beach this fall, it is this Senate district where incumbent Democrat Betty Karnette squares off against Rancho Palos Verdes Councilwoman Marilyn Lyon. The Karnette-Lyon affair could generate some heat, although results from the March blanket primary suggest that Senate Republicans may opt to leave the grandmotherly Karnette alone and concentrate their limited resources elsewhere. In March, Karnette and Lyon went head-to-head, with Karnette out-polling her GOP rival by some 20,000 votes. That disparity, plus Karnette's enduring popularity and current $1.1 million bankroll, make this a daunting challenge for Republicans. The

Karnette

Lyon

incumbent also can count on a vigorous fall effort from one of her biggest champions — the California Teachers' Association, which will be energizing its troops to defeat Proposition 38, the voucher initiative. Churning that base can only help Karnette, a former teacher. Lyon, on the other hand, has shown some spunk as a campaigner and a willingness to throw her own resources into the fray. At the end of June, she loaned her campaign $250,000, which brought her cash-on-hand close to $400,000. That's more money than Karnette's previous opponents ever raised and enough to ensure that Senate Democrats take the contest seriously. It also is enough to remind the incumbent of 1994, when she narrowly lost her Assembly re-election partly because a last-second infusion of cash allowed her opponent — Republican Steve Kuykendall — to launch a final round of attack mail. Meanwhile, Karnette's race can't help but be affected by intense campaigns above and below the Senate district, one of them involving Kuykendall. Layered atop the Senate race is the Kuykendall-Jane Harman dust-up in the 36th Congressional District; layered below are clashes in a pair of Assembly districts — the 54th (Alan Lowenthal-Rudy Svornich) and 56th (Sally Havice-Grace Hu). If nothing else, this activity should generate a decent turnout, which helps Karnette. Former Governor George Deukmejian, who hails from Long Beach, is helping Lyon raise money, while Republicans push the notion that Karnette is voting with Democratic leadership at the expense of district concerns. At the moment, most of the tea leaves read in Karnette's favor, although the historically competitive nature of the district likely will keep this contest on both parties' "watch" lists right down

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to Election Day. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 29 (41% D - 40% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Richard Melendez of West Covina. Republican: Bob Margett of Arcadia. Libertarian: Leland Faegre of West Covina.

Key Issues: Class-size reduction, school safety, municipal taxes.

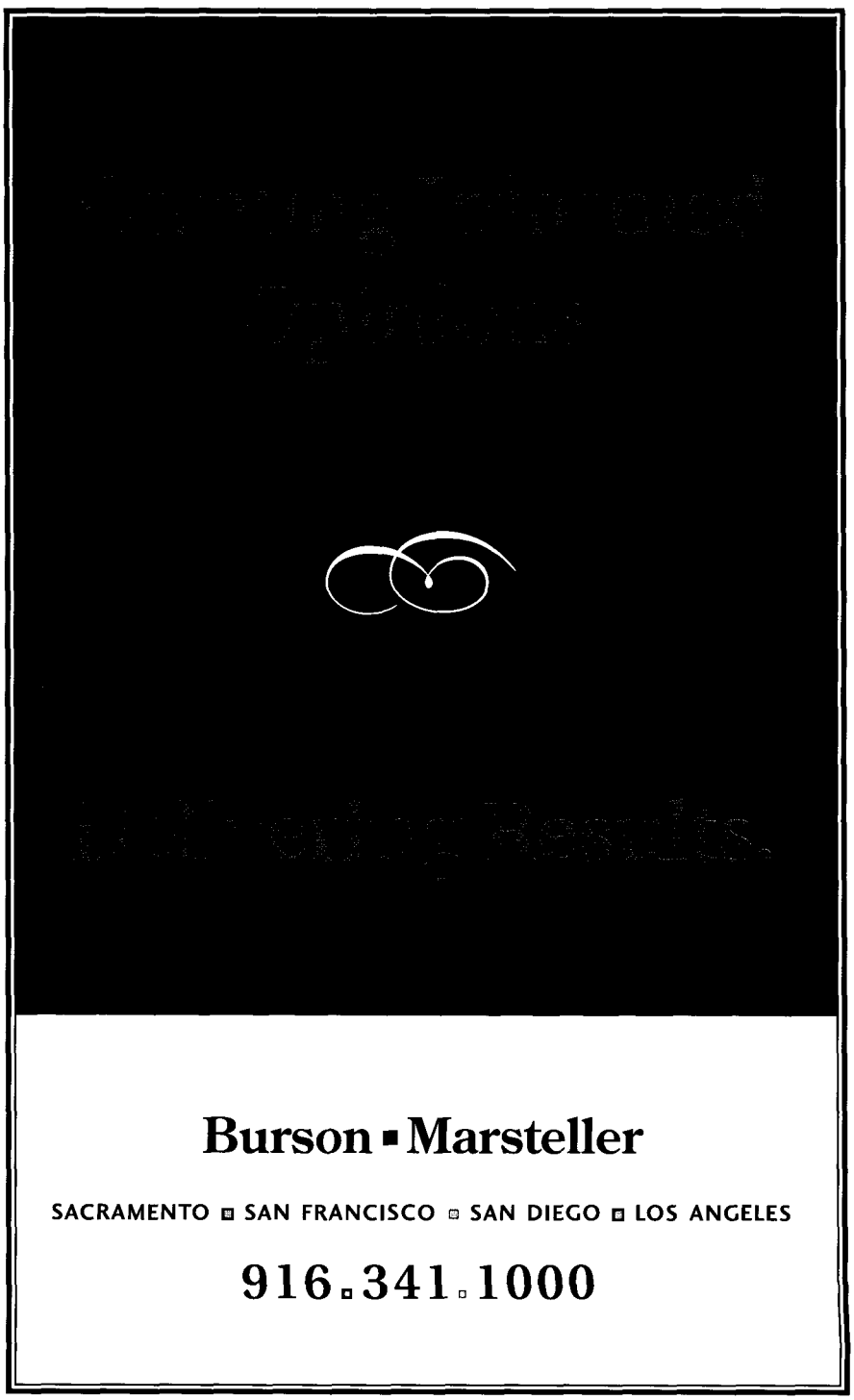
The current occupant of this Republican seat is Richard Mountjoy, a strident conservative warrior who spent 16 noisy years in the Assembly before winning the Senate seat in a 1994 special election. Mountjoy is termed out this year, and the Republican running to replace him is Bob Margett, currently the termed-out holder of Mountjoy's old Assembly seat. Where Mountjoy is a high-volume, high-profile, can't-ignore-him politician, Margett is just the opposite. And that is just the kind of headache Republicans don't need this year. Arguably, this district is not quite as rock-ribbed Republican as it once was. GOP registration has dropped eight points since 1992, and Latinos, who made up a relatively small percentage of district voters eight years ago, now account for more than 20 percent. The combination of those demographic changes and Margett's lack of visibility, particularly in the district's southern portion that was not part of his Assembly district, means Senate Republicans will have to spend money better deployed elsewhere to make sure the 29th stays in GOP hands. The Margett campaign has been running cable TV ads since late August, touting Margett's record on education issues. The Democrat opposing Margett is Richard Melendez, a police officer and member of the West Covina City Council. Melendez had strong backing from the Latino Caucus in the primary, which helped him defeat fellow council member Steve Herfert. The race should be Margett's to lose, but given his relatively modest showing in the blanket primary (52 percent) in a district where he already represents half the voters, winning is going to take some money and attention from Republican leaders. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 31 (39% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Mike Rayburn of Redlands. Republican: Incumbent Jim Brulte of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: Fritz R. Ward of Crestline.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, traffic congestion on I-10, the Foothill Freeway construction, "donut hole" development in Redlands, Endangered Species Act, dairy herd pollution.

Senate Republican Leader Jim Brulte will spend the election season working to stave off another GOP debacle at the polls. As George W. Bush's point man in California, Brulte bears responsibility for keeping the Golden State on Bush's presidential radar screen all the way to Election Day. As Senate leader with limited financial resources, Brulte must spend wisely in



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contested races so as not to see his caucus shrink below its current level of 15 members. Both tasks are daunting. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 (29% D - 54% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Jack Roberts of Los Angeles. Republican: Dick Ackerman of Fullerton. Libertarian: Michael Chacon of Tustin. Natural Law: William "Bill" Verkamp of Anaheim.

Key Issues: Highway 55/I-5 traffic congestion, fire ant infestation, electrical deregulation.

Back before the primary, Assemblyman Bill Campbell toyed with running for the Republican nomination for this seat. But Campbell opted out, giving Assemblyman Dick Ackerman an easy ride to the March primary and now the November general election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 (30% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Steve Ray of Sunset Beach. Republican: Incumbent Ross Johnson of Irvine. Libertarian: Paul L. Studier of Lake Forest. Natural Law: Cindy Katz of Tustin.

Key Issues: School safety, school accountability and El Toro Marine Base conversion.

Senator Ross Johnson stepped down as Senate Republican leader before the March primary to devote more time to ailing members of his family. In stepped Senator Jim Brulte to take the reins of the Senate Republican caucus, which likely will be significantly outspent by Senate Democrats in key races. Johnson's re-election, however, is not one the GOP is worried about. The 22-year incumbent of both the state Assembly and Senate will return one last time before term limits claim him in 2004. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 37 (35% D - 45% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Sedalia Sanders of El Centro. Republican: Jim Battin of Palm Desert. Libertarian: Donna Tello of Poway.

Key Issues: Electricity deregulation, Colorado River water rights, Coachella Valley growth, test scores, low-performing schools, costs incurred by immigrants injured or killed trying to enter the country illegally.

Republican Assemblyman Jim Battin is swapping seats with state Senator Dave Kelley, the termed-out incumbent in this district. With registration heavily favoring Republicans, Battin is one of the few GOP candidates who can share some of his campaign treasury with his party's caucus leadership. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 38% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Deirdre Alpert. Republican: Larry Stirling. Libertarian: Rusty Nichols. Natural Law: Stuart Knoles. All of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, accountability in schools, teacher quality, beach closures, sand erosion, traffic congestion.

Until mid-summer, Democratic incumbent Dede Alpert's final election to the Legislature looked fairly secure. A popular official with an impressive record of winning highly competitive districts, Alpert looked forward to a tranquil election season. Then came summer, when electricity deregulation descended on San Diego like a tsunami from the sea, and tranquil San Diego became one of the most turbulent and volatile places to be an incumbent. Alpert voted for the 1996 law that deregulated the electricity industry and thus had exposure on the issue; exposure her Republican opponent — former legislator and Superior Court Judge Larry Stirling — was quick to exploit. To diffuse her vulnerability, Alpert worked during the Legislature's final weeks to craft a legislative fix, and Democratic leaders kept her out front in that effort. Unfortunately, she managed only a temporary freeze and not a comprehensive solution, thanks to having to accommodate the wishes of Governor Gray Davis. Some observers believe that was enough to dampen the firestorm, and the dereg issue will have abated enough by Election Day to shrink in significance at the polls. Others argue that any official even remotely connected with the debacle has been irreparably harmed. Look for Stirling to center his campaign on dereg and raise the issue at every opportunity. Look for Alpert to point out that she

Alpert

Stirling

did more than talk about the debacle; she took action to try to correct it. Before dereg hit the scene, Alpert enjoyed several advantages that may now have evaporated. She is well known and popular throughout the district, having served in the Legislature since 1990 and on the Solana Beach School Board in the 1980s. When Stirling was in the Senate, his pre-reapportionment district extended inland to El Cajon and was much more conservative than the current configuration. Although registration now is evenly split between the two parties, the current district's large decline-to-state population tends to vote Democratic. U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer and Governor Davis both carried the district convincingly in 1998, as did Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996. That should help Alpert, who, in head-to-head competition in the March 2000 blanket primary, out-polled Stirling by 12,000 votes. Since then, she has padded her campaign fund to the tune of $242,000 through the beginning of August, giving her $1 million on hand for the final push. Stirling, on the other hand, is not an adept fund raiser. Although reports show he raised $315,000 through the end of July, most of that came from the state Republican Party and from Senate GOP leadership. Plus, he had only $103,000 left in the bank. He'll need plenty more if he is to be competitive, which means Senate Republicans will have to invest heavily in his campaign — an expenditure they seemed reluctant to make as the calendar flipped over to September. Still, that reluctance could evaporate later this fall if polls show electricity dereg cutting heavily into Alpert's base of support. As a result, this race — like all those in competitive San Diego districts — remains on everyone's "watch list." LEANS DEMOCRATIC

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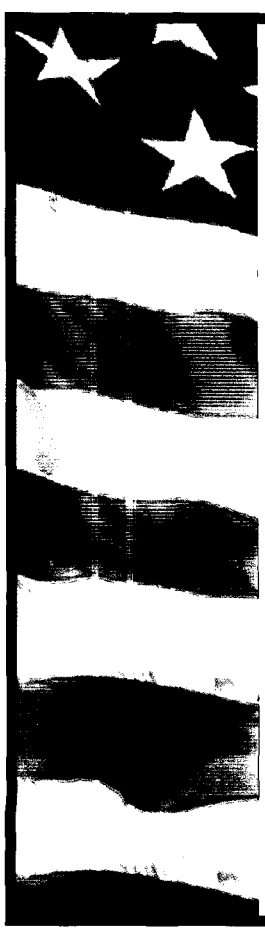

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Health Counts 2000

Consider this: In 1998, more than 7.3 million Californians – 24% of the population under age 65 – had no public or private health insurance. At the same time, the state had the largest proportion of Medicare recipients – 37%, compared to the 15% national average. Will their needs be addressed?

California CapitolWeek, public television's weekly political journal, leads a unique multimedia partnership to engage voters on key health issues. Policy research provided by the California HealthCare Foundation will gauge public opinion on candidate positions and examine the impact of proposed health policy solutions in California.

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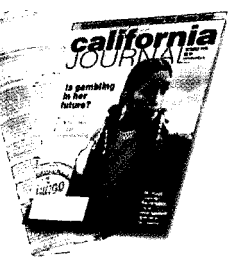
Part One: Prescription Drugs - the proposals for coverage coming from the campaigns, and profiles of seniors that reveal the real life implications of soaring drug costs. Airs weekend of 10/20.

Part Two: Reaching Out to the Uninsured – An interactive video link connects clinics in Fresno and LA County to involve citizens in a discussion about access to affordable healthcare. Airs weekend of 10/27.



Print

- a special supplement in October's *California Journal*, outlining candidate positions on key health care issues.
- an entire editorial section in the *Sacramento Bee* discussing health care in California.
- *La Opinión* will devote a special section to health care issues of importance to California's growing Latino community.

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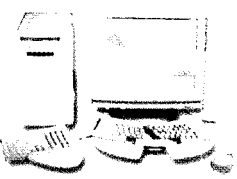

Online

A dynamic website at www.healthcounts2000.org provides a comprehensive list of links, resources and supporting content provided by the partners.

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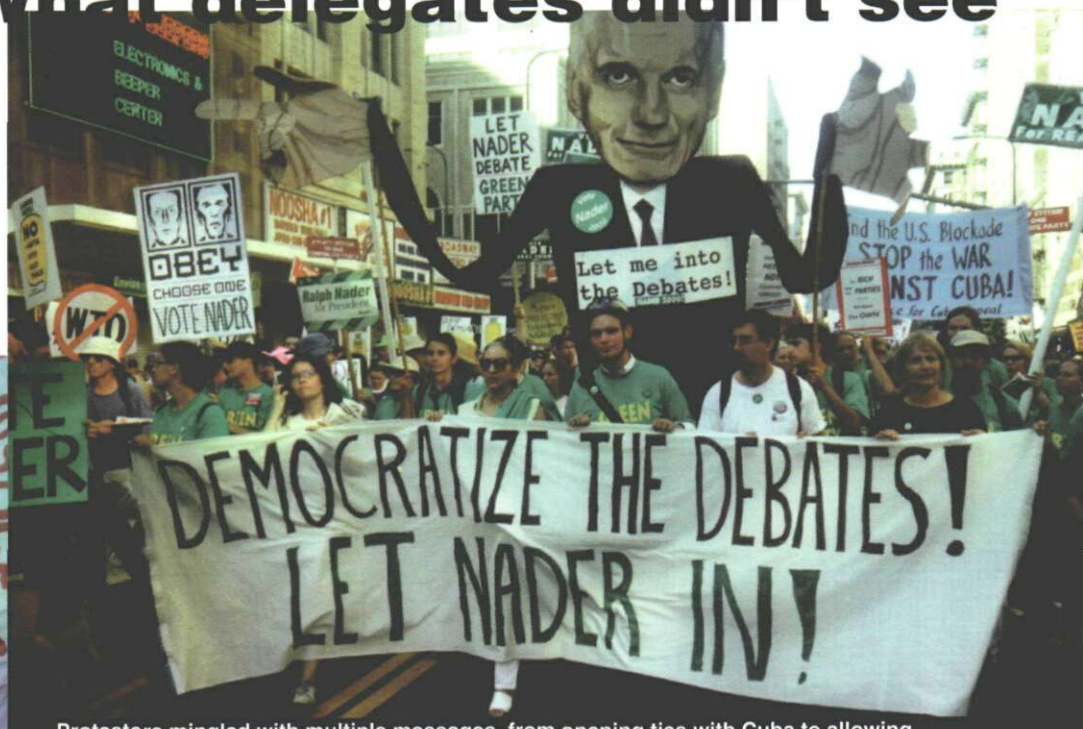
Street life: What delegates didn't see

Inside the Democrats' national convention in LA last month, all went according to script. Outside, it was a different story.

any protest banners resembled murals, such s this one calling for immigrant rights during an nti-sweatshop march from Los Angeles' arment district.



Protestors mingled with multiple messages, from opening ties with Cuba to allowing Green Party candidate Ralph Nader into the presidential debates.

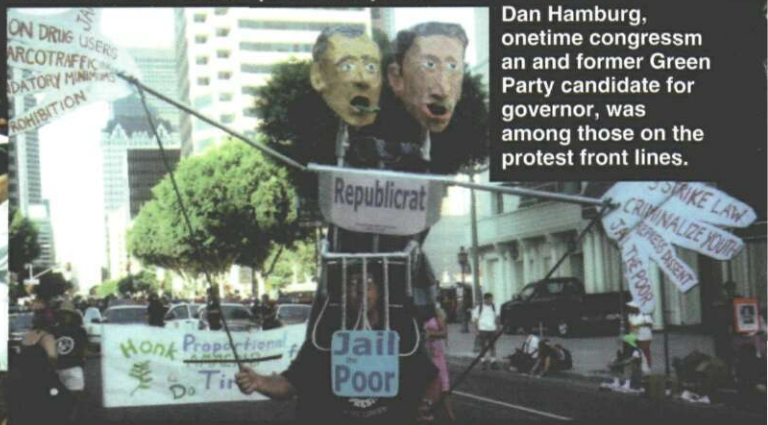
a year when corporate money was lavishly evident at both national party onventions, this message struck a chord with many protestors.

uarding their own gates, L.A. cops stood ugh outside city police headquarters during protest march against police brutality.

It wasn't just the police who showed up in riot gear. Journalists also arrived in helmets and padded vests, after several reporters were hit by rubber bullets during Monday night's confrontation between police and protestors.

Dan Hamburg, onetime congressm an and former Green Party candidate for governor, was among those on the protest front lines.

A protestor shows off the bruise he said was inflicted by a police rubber bullet during a melee after the "Rage Against the Machine" concert.



This inventive protestor had his walking billboard rigged so that blowing air through tubes would make tongues appear from the puppet mouths of George W. Bush and Al Gore.

Photos by Richard Hansen

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Going along to get along

by Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

To the chagrin of California Democrats, the harmonious diversity of this summer's Democratic National Convention was threatened by "Bunnygate." That's what some media wags dubbed the flap over Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez's decision – later reversed – to hold a fund-raiser at the famed Playboy mansion for Hispanic Unity USA, a nonpartisan political action committee formed to raise money for Latino candidates and encourage registration and turnout.

Sure, many political and charity events have been held at the Southland mansion; but this one was scheduled during the first Democratic convention of the post-Monica Lewinsky era, at a time when the party was working hard to burnish its "family-values" image.

In the end, the event was moved but Republicans pounced on the "sleazy" symbolism and even some Democrats questioned whether the brouhaha might damage Sanchez's political prospects.

In 1996, Sanchez, then a political newcomer, pulled off a stunning upset, ousting incumbent Republican congressman Bob Dornan from his seemingly safe Orange County seat. It was a brutal, hard-fought race, and Sanchez's margin of victory was razor-thin. But when it was over, the new congresswoman emerged as the symbol of Latino empowerment in a district — the 46th — which had been a Republican bastion. Sanchez became the first woman and first Latino to represent the district in Washington — and a rising Democratic star.

Running for her third term this year, Sanchez faces another Latina: Republican Gloria Matta Tuchman, a first-grade teacher from Santa Ana and a former Tustin school board member. She ran for state Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1998, but was handily defeated in November by incumbent Delaine Eastin, a Democrat. Tuchman pulled 55 percent of the vote in the 46th CD.

Her 1998 campaign was largely bankrolled by a handful of wealthy, conservative supporters of educational vouchers and Proposition 227, which dismantled bilingual education in California. Tuchman served as co-chair of the campaign, which passed with 61 percent of the vote statewide. This year Tuchman could gain some traction from supporters of Proposition 38, a school choice initiative on the November ballot.

Those aren't bad indicators for Tuchman — particularly during an election season when California Republicans are hyping candidates who will allow the GOP to "reach out" to like-minded Latinos.

However, other numbers tell a different story. As of July 15, Sanchez was reported to have $1.5 million in campaign cash on hand; Tuchman roughly $68,000. That kind of money imbalance makes it difficult for any challenger to topple an incumbent. Additionally, in this year's open primary, Sanchez garnered 57 percent of the district vote, while Tuchman, at 24 percent, couldn't even match GOP registration.

> Will "Bunnygate" hurt Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez at the polls?

But what about Bunnygate? Can Tuchman capitalize on the controversy?

The Tuchman campaign put out a mailing on stationery labeled "Orange County Democrats," attacking Sanchez over the intended fund-raiser.

"Immorality, sexual exploitation and degradation of women are not the kinds of messages our political leaders should be sending to our community — particularly Sanchez, who as a woman should know better," the letter read. It urged voters to favor Tuchman because "she won't make us feel ashamed." A similar letter went out under an "Orange County Hispanics" logo.

But it's a long time until the election; there are more important issues at stake and, as a GOP campaign ploy, the mailers lack credibility. The battle for Tuchman remains uphill and turnout will again hold the key in November. If Republicans are motivated to turn out in higher numbers, the race could be competitive; however, it's unlikely the Playboy problem can overtake demography in the increasingly Democratic and Latino 46th congressional district.

Perhaps more problematic is the congresswoman's future in Democratic circles. "To get along, you've got to go along," legendary House Speaker Sam Rayburn once admonished new congressmembers. At this point, if Loretta Sanchez looks to move beyond the halls of Congress, she will need to confront the truth of that axiom.

Contributing Editor Sherry Bebitch Jeffe teaches at Claremont Graduate University. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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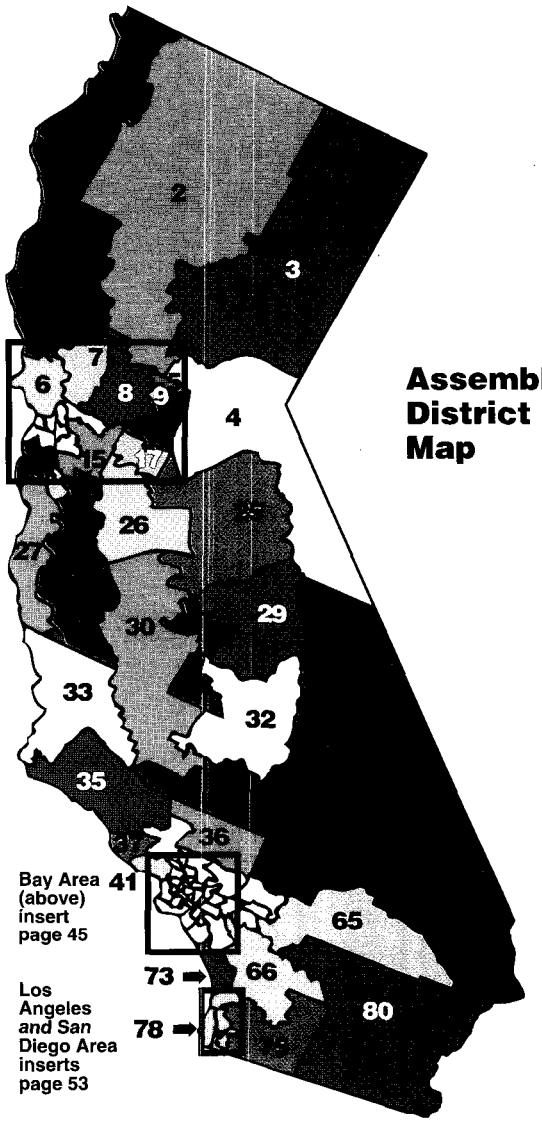
Assembly

Editor's Key: *Those districts considered "hot" races are marked with a flame. We also list the percentage of registered Democrats, Republicans and "Decline-to-State" (DS) voters in each district. For the first time, based on extensive interviews with candidates throughout the state, we are noting the "Key Issues" in each congressional, Assembly and state Senate district. And, as always, we define each race as "safe," "leans" or a "toss-up."*



Assembly District Map

DISTRICT 1 (48% D - 30% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Virginia Strom-Martin of Santa Rosa. Republican: Michael Lampson of Kelseyville. Libertarian: Josua Gilleo of Eureka.

Key Issues: Education reform in rural areas, returning property taxes to local governments, widening Highway 101, adding public transit, preserving open space.

As if winning re-election wasn't easy enough, a third and final term for incumbent Democrat Virginia Strom-Martin became even easier when her Republican opponent withdrew from the race, albeit too late for her name to be removed from the ballot. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 2 (38% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Virgil Parks of Redding. Republican: Incumbent Dick Dickerson of Redding. Libertarian: Pete Bret of Redding. Natural Law: Patrice Thiessen of Mt. Shasta.

Key Issues: Local water rights, education reform, gun rights, economic development.

With Republican registration steadily inching upward, incumbent Dick Dickerson sits comfortably among the vast reaches of this nine-county district. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 3 (37% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Benjamin Wirtschafter of Marysville. Republican: Incumbent Samuel M. Aanestad of Grass Valley. Libertarian: William L. Thomason of Truckee.

Key Issues: Health care for rural residents, balancing timber harvest plans with forest preservation, local water rights, economic development, racial tolerance.

Incumbent Sam Aanestad had no worries in the primary, and even an end-of-session blunder over a water bill won't derail his re-election. Seems he failed to notice that a CAL-FED implementation bill he co-authored had been amended to help Southern California interests tap into precious Northern California water. Unaware of the legislative sleight of hand, Aanestad voted for the bill and took a beating in the local press. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 4 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Stephen A. Macola of Loomis. Republican: Tim Leslie of Tahoe City.

Key Issues: School accountability, local school funding, public safety, gun rights, death penalty, increased flow of tax dollars to district, HMO reform.

It's a game of political musical chairs as termed-out state Senator Tim Leslie moves into the Capitol offices of termed-out Assemblyman Rico Oller, who's heading down the hall to occupy Leslie's old seat. Leslie and Oller don't exactly look alike, but they think enough alike to make it easy for these two legislators to swap seats in their neatly nested Assembly and Senate districts. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 5 (40% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Republican: Incumbent Dave Cox of Fair Oaks. Libertarian: Gene Frazier of Citrus Heights.

Key Issues: Improving basic academic skills, protecting private property rights.

Even if Democrats had fielded a candidate against first-term incumbent Dave Cox, they would have stood little chance because of superior Republican voter registration. After reapportionment, however, this seat could become friendlier territory for Democrats. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 6 (51% D - 28% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Joe Nation of San Rafael. Republican: Ed Sullivan of San Anselmo. Libertarian: Richard Olmstead of Petaluma.

Key Issues: Improving academic performance, reducing traffic congestion, open space acquisition, environmental cleanup.

During the primary, Joe Nation, a

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Marin Municipal Water Board member and San Rafael-based policy analyst, finished at the top of an eight-person pack seeking to replace termed-out Assemblywoman Kerry Mazzoni in this oh-so-mellow, Democratic stronghold. With his toughest battle behind him, Nation should breeze through this election, even if his GOP opponent, Ed Sullivan, has a far more famous name. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 7 (53% D - 29% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Patricia Wiggins of Santa Rosa. Republicans: Pedro Rivera of Fairfield. Libertarian: William Schoeffler of Glen Ellen.

Key Issues: HMO reform, education funding, vocational training programs, transportation funding, affordable child care.

Patricia Wiggins, a computer systems analyst, small business owner and former Santa Rosa councilwoman, is an accomplished sky diver from a family of Type-A risk-takers. Her father, Ralph Wiggins, was the stuntman who performed wing-walking maneuvers in Robert Redford's movie "The Great Waldo Pepper." Her mother, Grace, was one of the first women to sky dive. But this November, Wiggins needs no daredevil stunts to score a second term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 8 (48% D - 32% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Helen Thomson. Republican: John R. Munn. Natural Law: Robert W. Wilson II. All of Davis.

Key Issues: Mental health reform, biomass conversion, groundwater supplies.

Because Democratic registration hasn't always been the heartiest here, Republicans in past elections have targeted incumbent Helen Thomson, a former nurse and champion of mental health issues. But Davis school board member John Munn isn't offering much of a challenge this time — he's raised only $4,543 — ensuring that Thomson will return for her third and final term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 9 (60% D - 22% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Darrell Steinberg. Republican: Charles Hargrave. Green: Jan Louis Bergeron. Natural Law: Bruce Saunders. All of Sacramento.

Key Issues: Attracting and retaining quality teachers, improving air quality, expanding health insurance coverage, funding mental health programs.

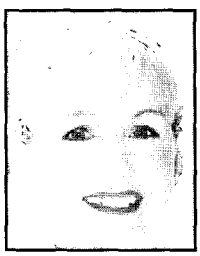
With a safe Democratic seat locked beneath him, incumbent Darrell Steinberg — *California Journal's* 2000 Rookie of the Year — can focus instead on his upcoming chairmanship of the Assembly Judiciary Committee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 10 (43% D - 42 R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Debra Gravert of Elk Grove. Republican: Incumbent Anthony Pescetti of Rancho Cordova. Libertarian: Tom Kohlhepp of Lodi.

Key Issues: New school facilities, HMO reform, car-pool lanes for Highway 99, expanding public transit systems.

It's rematch time for Republican



Gravert

Pescetti

Anthony Pescetti and Democrat Debra Gravert, whose 1998 bout saw Pescetti walk away with a narrow, 300-vote victory. Naturally, Gravert is taking another crack at the former Sacramento Municipal Utility District board member. This time, Pescetti is a hard-working incumbent who posted an impressive showing in the uncontested March primary, winning 57 percent to Gravert's 39 percent. That performance was attributed to long hours spent working his district, which covers southern Sacramento County's suburbs, and to his moderate voting record. Pescetti also is something of a rarity among Republicans when it comes to labor unions: They actually like him, thanks to his support for restoring the eight-hour day and other labor-backed bills. Pescetti did get dinged in *The Sacramento Bee* as one of the Legislature's biggest users of taxpayer-financed mailers, which critics claim is free advertising for incumbents. But that issue alone won't be enough to unseat him. Although Gravert remains a strong candidate, who may receive substantial help from money-soaked Democratic leaders, the party will have to spend heavily — and hope for a statewide Democratic landslide — to knock off the likable Pescetti. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 11 (53% D - 29% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Joe Canciamilla of Pittsburg. Republican: Jim Diaz of Clayton. Libertarian: Frank Manske of Concord.

Key Issues: Education funding, health care coverage, growth/sprawl, traffic congestion, mass transit funding, local government financing.

"Hard-working Joe" Canciamilla — the Contra Costa County supervisor who gave away gardening gloves emblazoned with that campaign logo — ran hard on a slow-growth, pro-education platform. He clobbered his Democratic primary opponent, former Concord Mayor Lou Rosas, by a three-to-one margin. Now Canciamilla can relax since he is guaranteed to acquire the district that Assemblyman Tom Torlakson gave up to run for Senate. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 12 (57% D - 16% R - 23% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Kevin Shelley. Republican: Howard Epstein. Both of San Francisco.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, growth, adequate school funding, school construction, class-size reduction, traffic gridlock, pedestrian safety.

Democratic Majority Leader Kevin Shelley faces no obstacles to a final two-year term, so he's spreading his Assembly campaign funds to others, while busily building a base for a future Senate or congressional run. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 13 (59% D - 12% R - 22% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Carole Migden. Republican: Bob Lane. Libertarian: NFN Starchild. All of San Francisco.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, growth, transportation funding, traffic congestion, medical care access/cover-

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age, HMO reform, adequate education funding, school construction/renovation.

Jumping from the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Carole Migden literally began her Assembly career near the top, chairing the powerful Appropriations Committee as a rookie. Heading into her final Assembly term, Migden is looking upward again, contemplating a run for higher office. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 14 (67% D - 10% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dion Aroner of Berkeley. Republican: Jerald Udinsky of Oakland. Libertarian: Daniel C. Burton of Berkeley.

Key Issues: Education funding, mass transit, health care access/coverage, welfare-to-work programs.

Dion Aroner, chair of the Assembly Human Services Committee, began her career as an Alameda County social worker, then spent a decade as chief of staff to Democratic Assemblyman Tom Bates, who also chaired Human Services. She hit the ground running as a lawmaker but now has run out of time. This election marks her third — and final — two-year term. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Greg Rolen of Walnut Creek. Republican: Incumbent Lynne Leach of Walnut Creek.

Key Issues: Local control of education funding, health care/HMO reforms, elderly care, traffic congestion, rebuilding roads and highways, Caldecott Tunnel construction.

Lynne Leach, a conservative businesswoman, barely won her first election in 1996 and has been a Democratic target ever since. But despite her perceived vulnerabilities, Leach is well-positioned for a third term in this rare, GOP-leaning East Bay district. Her Democratic opponent, lawyer and political neophyte Greg Rolen, is backed by Assembly Democrats but lacks the aggressive campaigning skills needed to knock off Leach. In the open primary, Leach trounced Rolen, securing roughly 66 percent of the vote to his 35 percent. This fall should be a repeat as Rolen grooms himself for a better venue in the post-reapportionment universe. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 16 (65% D - 14% R - 15% DS)

Independent: Incumbent Audie Bock of Piedmont. Democrat: Wilma Chan of Alameda. Republican: Timothy McCormick of Piedmont. Libertarian: Richard E. Armstrong of Alameda.

Key Issues: Affordable housing/rentals, funding for mass transit and highways, air and water pollution, low-performing schools and student test scores, discretionary funding for school districts, modernization of school facilities.

This is one seat Democrats want really, really bad. It's nothing personal against incumbent Audie Bock, the Green-turned-independent who upset former Oakland Mayor Elihu Harris in a special election last year to replace Don Perata. But Bock represents an acute embarrassment for Assembly Democrats, who put a lot of prestige — not to mention money — behind Harris only to see him squander the election and lose by a mere 327 votes. On the surface, the Democrats' revenge looks like a slam dunk. After all, their candidate is Alameda County Supervisor Wilma Chan, a powerhouse local politician who has championed children's causes, education reform and health care access and who is sitting on a $210,000 campaign treasury. Nor is Chan laden with the remarkable unpopularity that weighed down Harris. Backed by a well-organized, well-funded campaign, Chan drew 81 percent of the blanket primary vote this past March. But while the contest is Chan's to lose, it may not be the cakewalk Democrats envision. First, Chan's gaudy primary showing is misleading because Bock wasn't on the ballot, having declared herself an independent in part to avoid a head-to-head primary showdown with Chan. Bock has no political machine, only a modest campaign account ($41,000) and virtually no legislative record worth mentioning. Yet she managed to leap a massive hurdle by gathering 11,000 voter signatures, twice the number needed, to get on the November ballot — a feat some observers didn't think possible. She accomplished this with not-so-surprising help from Republicans, notably GOP political consultant Sal Russo, who guides her fall campaign. Republicans themselves have absolutely no chance of capturing the district, so what better way to make mischief for Democrats than by helping Bock? If nothing else, giving minimally to Bock will force Chan to spend her money at home rather than share it with other Democrats. And one never knows how far a little help will go in a district where voters tend to reject political labels and seem willing to challenge the political establishment. These are, after all, some of the same folks who elected anti-status quo, anti-establishment Jerry Brown as mayor of Oakland. Bock's camp is banking on enough voter dissatisfaction with the area's entrenched political leadership to give her re-election a shot, even if it's a long one. Bock is hoping her notoriety, name recognition and message of unconventional, independent leadership will resonate with voters. But she must raise the cash to project that message. So far, Bock has attracted endorsements from a coalition of labor unions, including the California Federation of Teachers and the California Nurses Association, as well as environmental groups such as the Sierra Club and the California League of Conservation Voters, all of whom could provide the volunteers and host the fund-raisers needed to keep her campaign alive. Her support is so strong in those quarters that despite vigorous attempts by the Democratic leadership to dissuade some labor unions from endorsing her, they did so anyway. But even with all that, Bock still faces an uphill fight, given the district's strong Democratic tendencies and Chan's herculean, big-money candidacy. To succeed, she'll need to

Bock

Chan

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pull off an even bigger upset than the one that toppled Elihu Harris. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 17 (46% D - 42% R - 7% DS)

Democrat: Barbara Matthews of Tracy. Republican: Greg Aghazarian of Stockton. Libertarian: Roy W. Busch of Manteca.

Key Issues: Health care coverage for uninsured, CAL-FED Bay-Delta Program, affordable housing, sales tax reform.

Matthews

Aghazarian

Easily the most contested race in the Central Valley, this open-seat tussle is one of two Assembly races statewide that straddle the priority list of both Republicans and Democrats (the other is the 61st District in San Bernardino County). Centered within the San Joaquin Valley, it features two evenly matched candidates: Democrat Barbara Matthews, a Tracy councilwoman, and Republican Greg Aghazarian, a local school board member. With the departure of termed-out Democratic incumbent Michael Machado, who's running for the state Senate, Republicans believe they finally can claim this seat. The district has been shifting dramatically their way throughout the 1990s as conservative voters pour over the Altamont Pass into such communities as Tracy and Manteca. In 1992, for instance, Democrats enjoyed a 15 percent registration edge. That margin has shrunk to 4 percent. It dropped 5 points last year alone despite Democratic attempts to slow the bleeding with aggressive voter-registration drives. On top of the district trending their way, Republicans have Aghazarian, who has impressed GOP leaders with his bright, energetic presence on the campaign trail. He also enjoys good name ID in Stockton, the district's largest city, thanks to his parents' longtime tailoring shop, Aghazarian's. Democrat Matthews enjoys a strong base of her own in Tracy, plus the kind of moderate, business-oriented profile that helped Machado hold this seat for six years. Matthews' campaign, in fact, is working closely with Machado's Senate effort, with Democratic consultant Richie Ross at the helm of both races. The Matthews/Aghazarian contest likely will chew up nearly $2 million; so far, both sides have been relatively close in fund raising. As of June 30, Aghazarian had slightly more money than Matthews: $107,700 to her $83,600. That advantage, however, will evaporate if Matthews can dip into the $12 million currently in the Democrats' larder. Ultimately, the race may hinge on George W. Bush's presidential effort in California. If Bush stumps the Central Valley and boosts GOP turnout, it could tip the race Aghazarian's way. But if Bush craters, or fails to campaign in the Central Valley, Matthews could benefit. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 18 (56% D - 25%R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Ellen Corbett of San Leandro. Republican: Syed Mahmood of Union City.

Key Issues: Education reform, adequate public school funding, transportation projects, health care reform/access.

With her re-election in the bag, rookie legislator Ellen Corbett, a former mayor of San Leandro, is free to concentrate on pet projects, such as school safety funding and tougher gun control laws. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 19 (53% D - 27% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lou Papan of Millbrae. Republican: Steven H. Kassel of Burlingame. Libertarian: Steve C. Lundry of South San Francisco. Reform: Paul J. Six of Foster City.

Key Issues: Adequate education funding, transportation funding, local government financing.

Lou Papan, facing his last race before term limits usher him from the Assembly, is so confident of re-election that he has bequeathed his campaign riches — $183,870 — to his daughter. Doing so gives Gina Papan, who has already announced her candidacy for the 2002 election to replace her father, a head start in fund raising. It's also a hedge against Proposition 34, the campaign finance reform measure on the November ballot. If the measure is approved and survives inevitable court challenges, it would cap individual contributions at $3,000 for legislative races and make illegal the kind of six-figure transfer that Papa Papan made to his daughter's campaign. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 20 (46% D - 30% R - 19% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John Dutra of Fremont. Republican: Lowell King of Fremont. Libertarian: Mark Werlwas of Fremont.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, education funding, smaller class sizes, traffic congestion, mass transit, San Jose BART extension, prescription drug coverage for seniors, job growth, high-tech issues.

John Dutra, a high school dropout and Navy veteran, went back to earn his diploma and used the GI bill to get through college. He won't need to work quite that hard to secure a second term in this East Bay seat formerly held by state Superintendent of Education Delaine Eastin. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 21 (47% D - 32%R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Joe Simitian of Palo Alto. Republican: Deborah Wilder of Foster City. Green: Gloria Purcell of Belmont.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, traffic congestion, public education funding, class-size reduction, health care access/coverage, environmental protection, high-tech issues, Internet security, homeless services.

The GOP candidate, Foster City Mayor Deborah Wilder, may keep Santa Clara County Supervisor Joe Simitian from getting a free ride, but she can't stop him from cruising in the fast lane. Simitian is assured a seat in the Assembly, where he can continue his crusade to clean up the environment, expand health care access to low-income children and increase affordable housing. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 22 (47% D - 30% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Elaine Alquist

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of Santa Clara. Republican: Stan Kawczynski of Sunnyvale.

Key Issues: Education funding, health care reform/access, affordable housing, long-term/elderly care.

Elaine Alquist, a former math teacher and guidance counselor, is secure in a seat that formerly belonged to Democratic veteran John Vasconcellos, who now holds the Senate seat long held by her husband, Al Alquist. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 23 (55% D - 22% R - 18% DS)

Democrat: Manny Diaz of San Jose. Republican: Tom Askeland of San Jose. Libertarian: Dana Albrecht of Campbell.

Key Issues: Affordable housing, traffic congestion, mass transit, growth/sprawl, higher wages, health care coverage/access, education funding.

Two-term San Jose City Councilman Manny Diaz has his toughest battles behind him, having emerged victorious in a brutal primary with rising Democratic star Tony West, an assistant state attorney general. Although West had more money and endorsements, Diaz earned himself a ticket to the Assembly. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 24 (42% D - 38% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Rebecca Cohn of Saratoga. Republican: Sue Jackson of Monte Sereno. Libertarian: Ray Strong of San Jose.

Key Issues: Higher teacher salaries, teacher training, school construction/repairs, mass transit, traffic congestion, affordable housing, growth/sprawl, environmental protection, health care access/insurance, public safety.

Two moderate candidates, both with backgrounds in health care and business, are waging spirited campaigns for this toss-up suburb, a Silicon Valley seat surrendered by termed-out Assemblyman Jim Cunneen, who is seeking a home in Congress. The contenders are Democrat Rebecca Cohn, a physical therapist and business consultant, and Republican Sue Jackson, a former nurse and current mayor of the small bedroom community of Monte Sereno. Both sides, anticipating a hotly contested race, estimate it will cost at least $1 million, and party leaders have pledged to fill their candidates' coffers. Both candidates are well matched. Cohn has $115,000 cash on hand, much of it from the Democratic Business PAC and various union groups. Jackson has $104,500 in the bank, including $100,000 she loaned herself, plus donations from business groups and GOP lawmakers. Cohn came early to the race, showing some spunk in her willingness to run for the seat back when popular Republican San Jose City Councilwoman Pat Dando was considered the front-runner. Dando later declined to run due to family obligations, forcing Republicans to scramble for a replacement. They settled on Jackson, who is not as well-known or as competitive as Dando. Cohn's campaign suffered from inner turmoil over the summer, with consultants dispatched from Sacramento to help stabilize it. The candidate herself is said to be high-maintenance, although her operation has been bolstered with the addition of veteran Democratic consultant David Townsend. Democrats hold a slight voter-registration edge, but the district has elected moderate Republicans in recent years, including Cunneen and former Insurance Commissioner Chuck Quackenbush, who held the Assembly seat before Cunneen. Top-of-the-ticket races favor Democrats, however. Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer both won the district twice in the 1990s, as did Gray Davis in the 1998 gubernatorial race and Bill Clinton in both 1992 and 1996. The only Republican to fare well here was then-Governor Pete Wilson in 1994. In the open primary, where both the Democratic and Republican races were contested, Cohn received 37 percent of the vote compared to Jackson's 21 percent. Recent polls indicate that Democratic candidates overall are doing well here, which bodes well for Cohn, who, like Jackson, fits the pro-choice, fiscally conservative mold that voters favor. Nevertheless, this remains a close race. TOSS-UP

Cohn

Jackson

DISTRICT 25 (41% D - 44% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Stephen F. Rico of Madera. Republican: Dave Cogdill of Modesto. Libertarian: Jonathan Zwickel of Madera.

Key Issues: Closure of Tri-Valley Growers cannery and Procter & Gamble plant, expanding the water supply, traffic congestion, worsening air quality.

The real battle for this Modesto-based seat was back in March when Modesto City Councilman Dave Cogdill thumped former FBI agent Bob Deklinski for the Republican nomination. Democrats held this seat in the early 1990s, but those days have disappeared with the district's shrinking Democratic registration. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 26 (51% D - 35% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dennis Cardoza of Atwater. Republican: Marshall Sanchez of Merced.

Key Issues: High unemployment and seasonal workers, economic development, new UC Merced campus.

This Central Valley seat has tempted Republicans in previous elections, but not this time. Incumbent Dennis Cardoza, one of Assembly Speaker Robert Hertzberg's top lieutenants and chair of the Assembly Rules Committee, is home free. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 27 (49% D - 29% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Fred Keeley of Boulder Creek. Republican: Charles "Chuck" Carter of Monterey. Libertarian: David R. Bonino of Santa Cruz. Natural Law: Madeline De Joly of Aptos.

Key Issues: Higher education funding, educational inequities, coastal protection, job creation.

Incumbent Fred Keeley will keep himself busy helping Assembly Speaker Bob Hertzberg dole out the Democrats' hefty stash of campaign funds to competitive districts. And he'll

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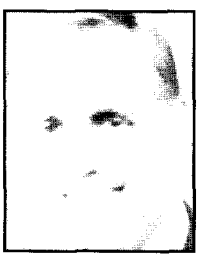
have the luxury of sharing his own pot of $300,000 with Democrats in races far tighter than his own. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 28 (50% D - 32% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Simon Salinas of Salinas. Republican: Jeffrey Denham of Salinas. Libertarian: Roger Ver of San Jose. Reform: JJ Vojel of Hollister.

Key Issues: Expanding school facilities, more high-tech in schools, health care, abortion rights, improving commuter corridors, urban growth, crime.

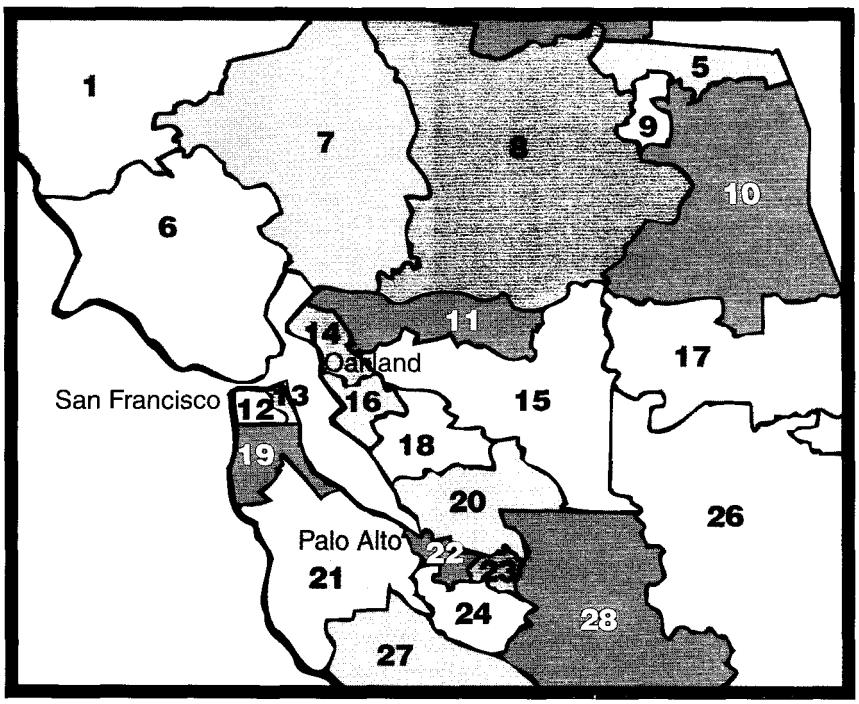
Salinas



Denham

This Salinas Valley district has vexed Democrats for the past three elections. After all, they held it more than a decade with dairy farmer Rusty Areias, and registration figures normally would place it in their "safe" column. After Areias' departure, however, the district fell under the spell of Republican Peter Frusetta, the Stetson-wearing rancher whose rambling speeches on the Assembly floor often perplexed and amused his colleagues. But down in the district, the ever-popular Frusetta proved a tough, formidable obstacle to Democratic ambitions. Frusetta is termed out in 2000, and Democrats have vested their return rights in Simon Salinas, the former mayor pro tempore of Salinas and a two-term Monterey County supervisor. His opponent is conservative Republican Jeff Denham, who will try to continue the tradition of dashing Democratic dreams. Both candidates survived tough primary elections. Salinas, especially, was tested by former legislative staffer Sandra Pizarro, who tried to exploit Salinas' vulnerability on a four-year-old DUI charge. It didn't stick. Denham, on the other hand, ran hard from the right against Laura Perry, a moderate, pro-choice GOP woman from the Silicon Valley. Like Frusetta, Denham speaks Spanish and has ties to agriculture, but the similarities end there. A former corporate vice president in a food packaging business, Denham failed to win a seat on the Salinas City Council two years ago but seems to have learned from the effort. Having left his business, Denham is campaigning non-stop, making numerous local appearances and planting lawn signs throughout the district. He has pulled in support from law enforcement groups, including local chapters of the Peace Officers Research Association of California (PORAC) and Retired Peace Officers Association, and from Santa Clara County Sheriff Laurie Smith. Salinas, on the other hand, has strong backing from labor and endorsements from two heavyweight Latino politicians who backed his primary opponent — Lieutenant Governor Cruz Bustamante and Los Angeles state Senator Richard Polanco, who brings financial backing from the Latino Caucus. He also has the support of the influential Silicon Valley Chamber of Commerce. Money will be plentiful for both campaigns, although Democrats have a much bigger bankroll. The real problem for Denham, however, is the math generated by the primary. The two Democratic candidates received 52 percent of the vote; the Republican pair got 45 percent. Assuming that Denham and Salinas hold their primary bases, Denham must pick up the lion's share of his Republican opponent's votes, including pro-choice women and other GOP moderates who may not be inclined to support an anti-abortion, anti-gun control conservative. He also must attract a substantial slice of those who voted for Salinas' more liberal Democratic opponent. Just by the math, the race looks decidedly uphill for Republicans, although Denham's energetic campaigning could level the playing field if the Democratic get-out-the-vote effort falters. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

San Francisco Bay Area



DISTRICT 29 (38% D - 48% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Lita Reid of Visalia. Republican: Incumbent Mike Briggs of Fresno. Libertarian: Ron Drioane of Fresno.

Key Issues: High unemployment, job development, protecting agricul-

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tural crops from pest infestations, building off-stream reservoirs.

During the debate over creating a state holiday honoring former United Farm Workers founder Cesar Chavez, conservative Assemblyman Mike Briggs raised some eyebrows when he said Chavez' efforts "caused a lot of damage to our farms and farm industry." Although insensitive, such a remark does him no harm in this rural district. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 30 (49% D - 36% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Dean Florez of Bakersfield. Republican: Ken Kay of Hanford.

Key Issues: Improving local highways, reducing unemployment, expanding wage base, glassy-winged sharpshooter infestation, Westlands Water District controversy.

Republicans held this seat from 1994 to 1998, until Dean Florez, a hometown-boy-turned-Harvard-grad, knocked off Republican incumbent Robert Prenter in a million-dollar campaign. Florez won despite the district's rural, conservative makeup and its eroding Democratic registration, which dropped six points in six years. Some observers assumed Florez would be a top target of Assembly Republicans come re-election time, but cash-strapped GOP leaders have decided to focus elsewhere. Florez, a proven conservative-leaning Valleycrat, has honed in on district concerns, such as local economic development, farm worker transportation, and threats to agriculture. Republican Ken Kay, a former radio talk-show host, is running a spirited, albeit grass-roots, campaign but he'll need presidential hopeful George W. Bush to generate a strong enough Republican tide in the Central Valley to encourage GOP donors and party leaders to help out financially. Florez, meanwhile, will be campaigning hard to not only secure his re-election but also expand his name ID beyond his Kern County base. Florez has every intention of running for state Senator Jim Costa's state Senate seat in 2002, regardless of how the district is reconfigured after reapportionment. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 31 (54% D - 32% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Sarah Reyes of Fresno. Republican: Richard Guerra Cabral of Selma.

Key Issues: Availability and affordability of higher education, job skills training for unemployed, expanding health coverage for uninsured, reducing child poverty.

Incumbent rookie Democrat Sarah Reyes had her toughest campaign two years ago when she dispatched Republican David Jackson, a conservative farmer. Like other Central Valley Democrats, Reyes has solidified her hold with a moderate-to-conservative voting record. Her GOP opponent is radio marketing specialist Richard Guerra Cabral, who lacks a strong base of support even as he woos the district's sizable Latino population. Cabral also lacks money, forcing him to run a low-level, grass-roots campaign. Barring an unexpected meltdown by Reyes, this seat should remain ... SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 32 (36% D - 49% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Virginia R. Gurrola of Porterville. Republican: Incumbent Roy Ashburn of Bakersfield. Libertarian: Ric Pinkerton of Bakersfield.

Key Issues: Quality of school instruction, unemployment and job development, highway construction, local road maintenance, agricultural water.

With his re-election assured in this conservative seat, Roy Ashburn can concentrate on other aspirations. Ashburn is among a handful of Republicans rumored to be interested in taking the reins of the Assembly's GOP caucus after termed-out leader Scott Baugh leaves office after November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 33 (38% D - 44% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Laurence Houlgate of San Luis Obispo. Republican: Incumbent Abel Maldonado of Santa Maria.

Key Issues: Accountability in schools, education standards, transporation funding, coastal protection, children's access to health care, mobile home park fees, abortion.

As one of the Assembly's four Latino Republicans, incumbent Abel Maldonado's star is rising, especially after he took center stage at this summer's Republican national convention in Philadelphia. The absence of a Republican challenger in the March primary indicates that voters are happy with his performance at home, too. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 34 (35% D - 46% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Bob Conway of Phelan. Republican: Phil Wyman of Tehachapi.

Key Issues: Accountability in education, student test scores, privacy, local government corruption in San Bernardino County, water storage/conveyance, overdrafts from local water tables, water rates.

Over the past 22 years, Republican Phil Wyman has been the Cheshire Cat of California politics, repeatedly appearing and disappearing from the scene. First elected to the Assembly as a so-called "Proposition 13 baby" in 1978, he served in the lower house until 1992 when he disappeared after an unsuccessful campaign for Congress. He reappeared a year later to win a 1993 special election to the state Senate, then lost the seat in 1994. He resurfaced in 1996 just long enough to lose a GOP state Senate primary to then-Assemblyman Pete Knight. Wyman is back again this year and, given the Republican nature of this geographically vast eastern California district, he likely will be more than a fading smile for the next two years. His toughest race came in the March 2000 Republican primary where he easily bested former Victorville City Manager Jim Cox. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 35 (43% D - 36% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Hannah-Beth Jackson of Santa Barbara. Republican: Robin S. Sullivan of Santa Paula. Natural Law: Eric L. Kahl of Goleta.

Key Issues: Local control of education funds, coastal pollution, HMO reform, gun control, infrastructure improvements, shifting property taxes to local government.

You could say incumbent Hannah-Beth Jackson strutted her stuff in the primary when she fetched 17,000 votes more than Republican Robin

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Jackson

Sullivan

Sullivan. While neither had a primary battle to speak of, Jackson's showing served as a read on voter contentment in a swing district that has teetered between parties throughout the 1990s. Jackson landed in office in 1998 after defeating conservative Chris Mitchum, son of actor Robert Mitchum. She succeeded moderate Republican Brooks Firestone, who vacated the seat for an unsuccessful run for Congress. Republicans like to think Jackson is too liberal for the district, but Jackson's take in the primary suggests that voters disagree. Sullivan, a real estate lawyer and two-term Santa Paula councilwoman, is hoping her resume' of local government experience and stint as Chamber of Commerce president, coupled with her moderate views, will make her a viable alternative to the sometimes-abrasive Jackson. While Sullivan has parlayed her local connections into several endorsements from local law enforcement officials, her fund-raising lagged behind expectations and prompted party officials in Sacramento to lend a hand. In addition, she must raise her profile in Santa Barbara County, where she is less well-known. With Democrats sitting on plenty of money, the incumbent will have plenty of cash to counter any last-minute resources pumped in Sullivan's direction. It's unlikely Republicans will make that move unless October polls show Sullivan within striking distance. For now, it's Jackson's race to lose. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 36 (35% D - 47% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Paula Calderon of Santa Clarita. Republican: Incumbent George Runner of Lancaster. Libertarian: Gregory Bashem of Lancaster.

Key Issues: Job creation, local control over schools, traffic congestion on Highways 14 and 138.

This staunchly GOP district in Antelope Valley gives Republican George Runner a solid base — one he'll have to abandon after this, his final Assembly term. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 37 (39% D - 42% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Roz McGrath. Republican: Incumbent Tony Strickland. Both of Camarillo. Libertarian: Jon Sharkey of Port Hueneme.

Key Issues: Local control of education funds, teacher retention, public safety, gas taxes, health care for seniors, air/water quality.

McGrath

Strickland

On paper, this Ventura County district is solidly Republican. But it also is a schizophrenic district, with not much in common between the moderate, coastal communities of Oxnard and Port Hueneme and the more conservative inland areas centered on Thousand Oaks. That makes campaigning here complicated, with Republicans and Democrats concentrating on those parts of the district they can win. Both sides must thoroughly work the friendly territory and, as one consultant put it, grind out yards on the ground. Republican Tony Strickland is considered the conservative's conservative, although the freshman lawmaker has made some inroads with labor groups. Democrats, however, believe he is too conservative and have enough money to make their case to voters. The Democratic standard-bearer is teacher Roz McGrath, who lost to Strickland in 1998 by fewer than 500 votes. Her ballot designation helps in an area where education is a top priority. Unlike Republican incumbents in other swing districts, Strickland has done little to moderate his votes, although he gained some attention this past summer by leading efforts to roll back the gasoline tax. Republicans hold enough of a registration edge to make this district Strickland's to lose, but it would not be a surprise if cash-rich Democrats ambushed the incumbent in late October with a barrage of negative mail. They could make this a heavily contested race all the way to November. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 38 (39% D - 43% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Jon M. Lauritzen of Chatsworth. Republican: Keith Stuart Richman of Sun Valley. Libertarian: Philip Baron of Granada Hills.

Key Issues: Adequacy of school facilities, quality of teachers/curriculum, health care access, congested roads, gang-related crime.

Endorsements from the likes of Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan helped propel local physician Keith Richman to the top of a hotly contested GOP primary last March. A moderate, Richman survived a tough challenge from Simi Valley businessman Norm Walker, who received financial support from conservative groups. A Walker victory might have piqued the interest of Democrats but they likely won't bother with Richman, who provides a striking contrast to the Republican in this seat the past four years — Tom McClintock, the libertarian iconoclast now seeking a Senate seat. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 39 (61% D - 20% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Tony Cardenas of San Fernando. Republican: Henry Valdez of Arleta. Libertarian: Christopher Maira of San Fernando.

Key Issues: Crowded schools, health insurance for women/children, prescription drugs for seniors, crime prevention.

Democrat Tony Cardenas can spend this election season preparing for his new role after November — chairman of the Assembly Budget Committee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 40 (54% D - 26% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Bob Hertzberg of Sherman Oaks. Republican: Kyle Hammans of Van Nuys. Libertarian: Kelley Ross of Van Nuys.

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Key Issues: Teacher training, runaway film production, health care access/cost, long-term care, Santa Monica Mountains preservation, beach pollution, traffic congestion on I-405.

Democrat Bob Hertzberg has a broader challenge than winning this San Fernando Valley district; as Assembly speaker, he has the task of keeping his Democratic caucus in the majority — a task at which he is a virtual lock to succeed. Less certain is his ability to navigate in post-election waters when he must oversee the drawing of new lines in the 2001 reapportionment and try to meld the ambitions of "veteran" two-term members with those of ambitious newcomers. Hertzberg took some criticism for the chaotic way the Assembly operated during its hectic, end-of-session finale in August, but that criticism won't translate into trouble at the polls. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 41 (49% D - 33% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Fran Pavley of Agoura Hills. Republican: Jayne Shapiro of Tarzana. Libertarian: Colin Goldman of Santa Monica.

Key Issues: Teacher training, runaway film production, health care access/cost, long-term care, traffic congestion on I-405.

Timing, as they say, is everything. Had the 2000 primary election taken place in late summer rather than in March, the Democratic candidate may have been David Freeman, head of Los Angeles Water and Power. Nothing against Fran Pavley, who defeated Freeman by some 3,000 votes in March. But Freeman is regarded as a hero these days because he kept his agency out of the energy deregulation game, thus sparing its customers the same soaring electricity bills that have plagued San Diegans. While Freeman can bask in the glow of that accomplishment, he is on the sidelines for this election. Pavley, meanwhile, will have an interesting race against Jayne Shapiro of Tarzana who, if nothing else, has an active fax machine and is producing at least the illusion of a lively campaign. She also has raised decent seed money, with reports showing $137,000 in her kitty at the end of July — nearly twice the resources available to Pavley. The current money gap also is an illusion, as Democratic leadership won't let this district, held for the past six years by Sheila Kuehl, slip away for lack of cash. The main challenge for Democrats is keeping tabs on the sometimes quirky Pavley who, as one observer noted, brings an unorthodox approach to the campaign and doesn't seem inclined to listen to advice from Sacramento-based professionals. Does that spell turmoil and a potential opening for Republicans? Not likely, since she does listen to local pooh-bah Zev Yaroslavsky. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 42 (56% D - 22% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Paul Koretz of West Hollywood. Republican: Douglas Taylor of Riverside. Green: Sara Amir. Libertarian: Mark Selzer. Natural Law: Ivka Adam. All of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Crime, gun control, school vouchers, freeway bottlenecks, Screen Actors Guild strike, term limits.

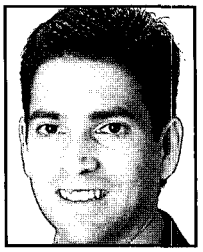
Democrat Paul Koretz won this seat in the primary when he parlayed endorsements from Los Angeles County Supervisor Zev Yaroslavsky and Governor Gray Davis into a victory over attorney Amanda Susskind, who had backing from Los Angeles Mayor Richard Riordan, among others. Koretz, who will succeed termed-out Democrat Wally Knox, already is gathering Sacramento chits by donating to the Democratic caucus. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 43 (45% D - 34% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Dario Frommer of Los Angeles. Republican: Craig Missakian of Glendale.

Key Issues: Foothills housing developments, 710 Freeway expansion, health care, curbing sprawl.

Democrat Scott Wildman won this district by inches in 1996 and, since then, registration has moved in the Democrats' favor. When Wildman launched a bid — ultimately unsuccessful — for a state Senate seat this year, he paved the way for a spirited primary fight to replace him in the


Frommer

Missakian

Assembly. The victors were Democrat Dario Frommer and Republican Craig Missakian. For most of the summer, their race looked to be dead even: two bright, highly ambitious young lawyers equally unknown and equally disliked in a district where being on the make doesn't play well. Frommer, a one-time aide to State Democratic Party Chairman Art Torres and most recently an appointments secretary to Governor Gray Davis, had counted on his ethnic identity (he is Latino despite a German-sounding last name) to draw a strong response from the Latino community, which comprises about 15 percent of the district's registered voters. It was slow in coming. Although born in the district, which includes Burbank, Glendale, Los Feliz and Silver Lake, Frommer was perceived as a Sacramento interloper. Missakian, a moderate whose Armenian heritage is a decided plus here, had trouble making a connection with other voters. Armenians may value ethnicity over party, but they account for only about 5 percent of the district vote. A court action by the Frommer campaign challenging Missakian's ballot designation (he called himself a criminal prosecutor but hasn't worked in the L.A. County District Attorney's Office since 1997) didn't help. But Missakian has the backing of former Governor George Deukmejian, who is helping with fund raising. Meanwhile, Frommer has been boosted by presidential candidate Al Gore's success in bringing back the Democratic base. Democrats say their polling shows an almost 20-point gain locally for Gore since the March primary. While they are not proclaiming victory just yet, local Democrats are clearly more confident that Frommer will prevail. Republicans are hoping that a strong GOP turnout for the high-stakes congressional race be-

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tween Representative Jim Rogan and state Senator Adam Schiff in overlapping CD 27 will turn the tide in Missakian's favor. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 44 (44% D - 38% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Carol Liu of La Canada-Flintridge. Republican: Susan Carpenter-McMillan of San Marino. Libertarian: Jerry Douglas of Montrose.

Key Issues: 710 Freeway expansion, residential development.

This district's crowded March primary to replace outgoing Democrat Jack Scott, who left to pursue a state Senate seat, didn't produce the victors that either major party quite anticipated.

But Democrats are feeling more than confident about their candidate, Carol Liu, a La Canada-Flintridge city council member currently serving as mayor, who also is a former teacher and teachers' union administrator. While Liu's moderate profile suited the district well enough to bring in crossover independents and Republicans, it also helped that she and her husband, former Southern California Edison CEO Michael Peavy, poured roughly $500,000 into the race. Liu's Republican opponent, Susan Carpenter-McMillan, is a public relations consultant, best known nationally for representing Paula Jones, the woman who accused President Clinton of sexual harassment. Perhaps more significant locally, however, are Carpenter-McMillan's appearances on Los Angeles television as a strong abortion foe. The 44th, which includes Pasadena, South Pasadena and the San Gabriel Valley communities of Altadena, La Crescenta and La Canada-Flintridge, is no bastion of liberalism, but Carpenter-McMillan's brand of social conservatism hasn't played well with Republican women. And while Democrats concede that Liu is still not a household name in the district, they say she is a lot easier to sell to voters than Carpenter-McMillan. This is a mostly white, suburban district that once was safely Republican but may be on its way to becoming safely Democratic. At the moment, Liu has the upper hand. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 45 (62% D - 16% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Jackie Goldberg of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Improving school performance, access to health care/insurance, job training programs, child care availability, increased community policing.

Republicans didn't even apply for this seat left vacant by termed-out former Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa. Instead, the prize went to Los Angeles City Councilwoman Jackie Goldberg, Villaraigosa's hand-picked successor, who scored a convincing victory over a pair of Democrats in the March primary. Goldberg will arrive in Sacramento armed with high ambitions and already is said to be grumping about the dearth of meaningful committee chairmanships available for freshmen. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 46 (64% D - 15% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Gil Cedillo. Republican: Matt Brown. Both of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Revitalization of downtown Los Angeles, access to health care, school sites, lack of credentialed teachers, job creation.

Not much to say when two-term incumbent Democrat Gil Cedillo swallowed up 84 percent of the vote in the March blanket primary while Republican Matt Brown got 16 percent. And that was an election where turnout favored Republicans. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 47 (71% D - 13% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Herb Wesson. Republican: Jonathan Leonard. Both of Los Angeles. Libertarian: Scott Pacer of Long Beach.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, lack of credentialed teachers, high school dropouts, gang-related crime, affordable housing, public transportation, prescription drug pricing, access to health care/insurance, public bus maintenance.

Write your own analysis. Given the Democrats' _____ edge in voter registration and incumbent Herb Wesson's _____ record at the polls, this district is considered _____ for Democrats. Republican Jonathan Leonard can only hope to _____. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 48 (79% D - 6% R - 9% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Rod Wright. Republican: Ernest Woods. Both of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, lack of credentialed teachers, gang-related crime, affordable housing, public transportation, prescription drug pricing, health care/insurance, access to technology resources, public bus maintenance, educational opportunities for school dropouts.

In this district's head-to-head blanket primary last March, Republican Ernest Woods ran 1 percent ahead of GOP registration in the district. That's something of a victory in a district where more voters register decline-to-state than Republican. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 49 (58% D - 22% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Gloria Romero of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: School accountability, juvenile justice reform, HMO/health insurance reform, privacy and landfill pollution.

Will Gloria Romero survive her first re-election? That's hardly a question on anyone's lips these days. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 50 (69% D - 14% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Marco Firebaugh of Los Angeles. Republican: Gladys Miller of Southgate.

Key Issues: Creating new jobs, cutting taxes, overcrowded schools, improving school curriculum/textbooks, Los Angeles River restoration, expanding local parks.

His Republican opponent has run five times on a shoestring. No doubt a bruising election season looms in this urban Los Angeles enclave for freshman Democrat Marco Firebaugh. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 51 (67% D - 16% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Jerome Horton of Inglewood. Republican: Antoine Hawkins of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Health care access for

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seniors/working poor, teacher pay, teacher attrition, parental involvement in education, welfare reform.

CPA Jerome Horton, an Inglewood city councilman, won a six-way Democratic primary for the right to succeed Democrat Ed Vincent, who is moving over to the state Senate. Republican Antoine Hawkins assumes the role of Don Quixote. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 52 (72% D - 10% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Carl Washington of Paramount. Republican: Mark Iles of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Juvenile crime, racial profiling, classroom construction, class-size reduction.

Democrats ought to be very wary of a voter trend occuring in this district. In January 2000, GOP and decline-to-state registration each stood at 9 percent. By February, they had soared to — 10 percent. If this continues, Carl Washington ought to have a few sleepless nights — in 2050. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 53 (41% D - 38% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent George Nakano. Republican: Gerald Felando. Both of Torrance. Libertarian: Phil Howitt of Los Angeles.

Key Issues: Criminal law enforcement, gay/lesbian tolerance in schools, reducing state reliance on bonds.

About 10 years ago, Gerald Felando was a Republican legislator often at odds with his own caucus and more than friendly to Willie Brown-led Democrats. That marked him as a moderate, which ought to play well now that he's back running in a district virtually split between Republicans and Democrats. But Felando fared poorly in the blanket primary, running some 20,000 votes behind freshman George Nakano and failing even to match Republican registration. Since then, he seems to have disappeared altogether from the campaign scene. Nakano's strength — and Felando's Everest — is the incumbent's enduring popularity in Torrance, where he served as a councilman for 14 years. The district has a propensity for voting Democratic, having given healthy margins to Governor Gray Davis and U.S. Senator Barbara Boxer in 1998, and to President Bill Clinton in 1996. Some traditional GOP donors have taken a pass on this district, where the substantial decline-to-state population also leans Democratic. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 54 (44% D - 37% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Alan Lowenthal of Long Beach. Republican: Rudy Svorinich of San Pedro. Libertarian: Dale Ogden of San Pedro.

Key Issues: San Pedro development, coastal pollution.

Alan Lowenthal, who narrowly captured this seat in 1998 when Republican Steve Kuykendall gave it up to run successfully for Congress, is probably No. 1 on the Democrats' endangered list. Republicans are convinced he is too liberal for the district, which takes in the wealthy coastal communities along the Palos Verdes Peninsula, as well as parts of Long Beach and the less affluent San Pedro. The GOP recruited moderate Los Angeles city councilman Rudy Svorinich, whose council district includes San Pedro, to try and accomplish what moderate Republican Julie Alban failed to do in 1998, despite three times as much campaign funding as Lowenthal. Republicans were stunned by that outcome and attribute it to a dismal campaign by GOP gubernatorial candidate Dan Lungren that dragged down the rest of the Republican ticket. That's as plausible an explanation as any in this corner of Los Angeles where not only the parties but also the candidates themselves seem to have spent the last decade trading places with one another. For example, Democratic Senator Betty Karnette took the 54th in 1992 from Republican incumbent Gerald Felando, who is currently running against George Nakano in AD 53. In 1994, Kuykendall took it from Karnette, and in 1996, Kuykendall almost lost it to Democrat Gerrie Schipske, who is currently challenging incumbent Republican Steve Horn for the overlapping 38th Congressional District. And to round it all

Lowenthal

Svorinich

out, Svorinich ran against Kuykendall in the 1998 GOP congressional primary. Money should not be a problem for either Lowenthal or Svorinich in this Assembly race, since both parties are convinced the seat is rightfully theirs. Incumbency and the overall strength of Democrats this year favor Lowenthal. But in a district with the kind of history that the 54th has, surprises are always possible. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 55 (64% D - 17% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Jenny Oropeza of Long Beach. Republican: Saul Lankster of Compton. Libertarian: Guy Wilson of Carson.

Key Issues: Education funding inequities, teacher training, aging school facilities, air and water quality, health care for working poor, job creation.

What a difference an election will make for the residents of this urban district. For the past four years, it has been represented by Democrat Dick Floyd — the Capitol's cigar-chomping, resident tough guy who is termed out. A throwback to the pre-term-limited Legislature, the often bombastic and cantankerous Floyd was a mischief-maker often considered irrelevant to the legislative process. Now, however, the district will be in the hands of Jenny Oropeza, a Long Beach councilwoman with strong ties to the influential Latino Caucus. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 56 (50% D - 33% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Sally Havice. Republican: Grace Hu. Both of Cerritos.

Key Issues: Education, HMO reform.

The 17-point registration edge held by Democrats in this Southeast Los Angeles district belies its true political character. Taking in northern Long Beach and the communities of

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Lakewood, Bellflower, Cerritos and Downey, it was once white, working class and Republican. Today it is multi-ethnic, working class and Democratic. Above all, it remains conservative, more like an inland district than a coastal one. And that's what leads Republicans to believe they can wrest it from Democrat Sally Havice, a former local school board member and community college instructor. She won here by a single percentage point in 1996 when Republican Phil Hawkins tried unsuccessfully to move up to the state Senate. Havice bested Hawkins by a much more comfortable nine-point margin in 1998, but Republicans believe that was a fluke. Campaigning and fund-raising have never been Havice's strong suits. Her race is being handled by senior staff in the Democratic caucus — presumably a more attentive, full-service bunch than busy campaign consultants. But Havice always plays much better in the district than she does in Sacramento, which is one reason why Republican leaders always feel she's vulnerable — and the reason she keeps frustrating them at the polls. Republicans are placing their hopes on Grace Hu, a wealthy Chinese-born businesswoman who is the mayor of Cerritos. Hu spent $150,000 on the primary and, as of June 30, had raised about $457,000. Nearly half of that amount was from personal loans but, as of late September, the total was more than that of any other Republican Assembly candidate. She is campaigning as a mainstream Republican on a platform of generalities: "better schools, lower taxes, safer streets, improved health care and accountable government." Latinos account for 20 percent of the registered voters in this district, and Republicans concede that Havice will capture the vast majority of their votes. Hu is counting on Anglos and Asians to build her own majority and hoping to cut her losses among Latinos. As a Latina and an incumbent, Havice has the advantage in the 56th, but Hu's money and strong GOP backing will force her to fight to keep the seat. LEANS DEMOCRATIC.

DISTRICT 57 (56% D - 25% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Ed Chavez of La Puente. Republican: Katherine Venturoso.

Key Issues: Groundwater contamination, impacts of local landfills, school rehabilitation/construction, job development, 710 Freeway completion.

La Puente Mayor Ed Chavez overwhelmed a trio of Democratic opponents in the March primary in his effort to succeed his boss — termed-out Democrat Martin Gallegos, who plans to run for Hilda Solis' state Senate seat in a special election next year. As Gallegos' district director, Chavez nailed down key endorsements from Latino groups and from labor, then took 63 percent of the Democratic vote. Republican Katherine Venturoso grabbed 100 percent of the Republican vote, but that amounted to only 19 percent of the overall total. Game, set, match: Chavez. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 58 (62% D - 23% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Tom Calderon of Montebello. Republican: Alex Burrola of Whittier.

Key Issues: Juvenile crime, small water district rates, education underfunding, water cleanup in San Gabriel Valley.

If his primary sweep is any indication, freshman Tom Calderon can spend this fall resting in Tahiti, relishing his upcoming role in the 2001 Legislature — chairman of the Assembly Insurance Committee. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 59 (39% D - 43% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Meline Hall of Covina. Republican: Dennis Mountjoy of Monrovia. Libertarian: George White of San Dimas. Natural Law: Louise Allison of Claremont.

Key Issues: Foothills preservation, HMO reform, better school facilities, enforcement of "Three Strikes" law, lower taxes.

The Mountjoy clan has graced legislative ballots in this Los Angeles County region since 1978 when Richard first won a seat in the Assembly. Now a state senator, Mountjoy is termed out in 2000, leaving a few bouncing dominoes in his wake. Republican Assemblyman Bob Margett's quest to take over Mountjoy's Senate seat left this district open; into the breech stepped six GOP hopefuls for the March primary. Not surprisingly, the candidate who emerged enjoyed widespread name identification; namely, Mountjoy. In this case, it is Dennis Mountjoy, son of Richard. The district is solidly Republican and not the place where a labor organizer such as Democrat Meline Hall would be considered viable. But Dennis Mountjoy has some family problems stemming from his son's legal difficulties, which have made headlines throughout the district. Sacramento Democrats took notice. They have the resources to make this an interesting tussle, but late polls will have to be very encouraging before they invest in any substantial effort to shut down the Clan of Mountjoy. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 60 (43% D - 38% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Jeff Duhamel of La Mirada. Republican: Incumbent Robert Pacheco of Walnut. Libertarian: Scott Young of La Mirada.

Key Issues: Traffic congestion, industrial water pollution, community college funding.

Registration and demographic changes in the eastern San Gabriel Valley cause some Democrats to gaze longingly at this district. But Republican Bob Pacheco, a former Walnut city councilman now in his first Assembly term, is a popular local official who appeals to the area's growing Latino community. Whether Pacheco has anywhere to run after the 2001 reapportionment remains to be seen, but he likely won't be troubled this election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 61 (45% D - 37% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Gloria McLeod. Republican: Dennis Yates. Both of Chino. Libertarian: David Kocot of Ontario.

Key Issues: Teacher quality, lower class size, accountability in low-performing schools, traffic congestion.

When the lines were first drawn for this district back in 1991, it was regarded as an anomaly — a minor-

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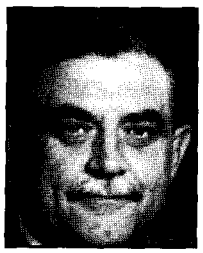
McLeod


Yates

ity-dominated district where Republicans held a 1 percent edge in voter registration. Since then, Democratic registration has remained static, while GOP figures dropped nine points. In addition, the Latino community has grown in numbers and political clout. Reflecting this change, the district has been won by both parties — Republicans in 1992, '94 and '96; Democrats in 1998. It has been vacant since March, however, when incumbent Democrat Nell Soto won a special election to the state Senate. Her departure put the district back in play, and both parties feel it's theirs for the taking. Polls show them correct, making the 61st one of the most contested Assembly districts in the state and a top priority for both sides. Democratic hopes rest with Gloria McLeod, a trustee of the Chaffey Community College District and a Latina who lost to Soto in the 1998 Democratic primary but easily outdistanced perennial candidate Paul Avila this past March. The Republican primary, however, did not go quite as planned by GOP kingmakers, who had hoped to nominate Pomona Mayor Eddie Cortez. Instead, Cortez finished third behind Chino City Councilman Dennis Yates and conservative activist Bob DeMallie, who lost to Soto in 1998. Although McLeod was the top vote-getter in the blanket primary, the three GOP candidates out-polled the two Democrats 53 percent to 46 percent. Nonetheless, the district has been trending Democratic in terms of past voting patterns. Democrats Gray Davis and Barbara Boxer both carried it in top-of-the-ticket races for governor and U.S. Senate in 1998, as did Bill Clinton in 1996 and 1992. This time around, both sides expect that the race will be close all the way to Election Day. The district's large Latino voting bloc will play a significant role and will be targeted by both sides. And although Democrats have a Latina candidate, that advantage is somewhat muted by her Anglo name. Yates, although not Latino, boasts the same geographical advantages that helped him in the primary. Forty percent of district voters live in the San Bernardino County cities of Chino and Chino Hills, where Yates is well known for his lengthy civic involvement. Throughout the 1990s, for instance, Yates was the top vote-getter in elections for Chino City Council. In addition, Yates is a pro-choice moderate in the mold of the popular official who held this seat for most of the 1990s — Republican Fred Aguiar, now a San Bernardino County supervisor. As with other hotly contested races, money will be no object for either side, although Democrats enjoy a huge financial advantage statewide, which also could come into play. And as with other districts, the eventual result will come down to which side best energizes the faithful to vote on Election Day. In that respect, the Assembly Democratic caucus seems to have the advantage of experience and teamwork, which could push them ahead at the tape. TOSS-UP

DISTRICT 62 (57% D - 28% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent John Longville of Rialto. Republican: Mary Lou Martinez of Fontana. Libertarian: John Matus of Rialto.

Key Issues: Economic development, air quality, traffic congestion on I-10 and Highway 60, commuting into Los Angeles.

Freshman John Longville nailed down one of the more intriguing committee chairmanships for the coming year — Elections and Reapportionment. His challenge will be to make something more of it than a conduit for the designs of others. He won't face a similar challenge this fall. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 63 (40% D - 45% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Scott Stotz of Highland. Republican: Incumbent Bill Leonard of Rancho Cucamonga. Libertarian: Ethel Mohler of Crestline.

Key Issues: Overcrowded schools, frustration with the education bureaucracy, traffic congestion on I-10, the Foothill Freeway construction, "donut hole" development in Redlands, Endangered Species Act, dairy herd pollution.

Republican Bill Leonard has been in the Legislature since 1978, serving first in the Assembly, then in the Senate and again in the Assembly. When he leaves office in 2002, he will become the first legislator termed out of both houses. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 64 (38% D - 46% R - 10% DS)

Democrat: Jose Medina. Republican: Incumbent Rod Pacheco. Libertarian: Phil Turner. Natural Law: Annie Wallack. All of Riverside.

Key Issues: Public safety, impacts of rapid growth, accountability in schools, student test scores, overcrowded schools, traffic congestion.

Rod Pacheco's checkered Assembly career will end in 2002. Among its notable events: He was the first Latino elected as GOP caucus leader and held one of the briefest tenures in that job. A former prosecutor and political moderate, Pacheco has not ruled out a run for the state Senate. For now, his re-election to a third and final term is assured. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 65 (38% D - 46% R - 11% DS)

Democrat: Ray R. Quinto of Yucaipa. Republican: Jan Leja of Beaumont. Libertarian: Bonnie Flickinger of Moreno Valley. Natural Law: Joseph Ray Renteria of Rancho Cucamonga.

Key Issues: School construction, highway expansion, water supply and water quality, comprehensive services for seniors.

In this staunchly Republican district, former Beaumont Mayor Jan Leja essentially won the election in the March primary when she defeated a staffer to former Governor Pete Wilson. She succeeds Republican Brett Granlund, who is termed out. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 66 (31% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Bob Canfield of Temecula. Republican: Dennis Hollingsworth of Murrieta. Green:

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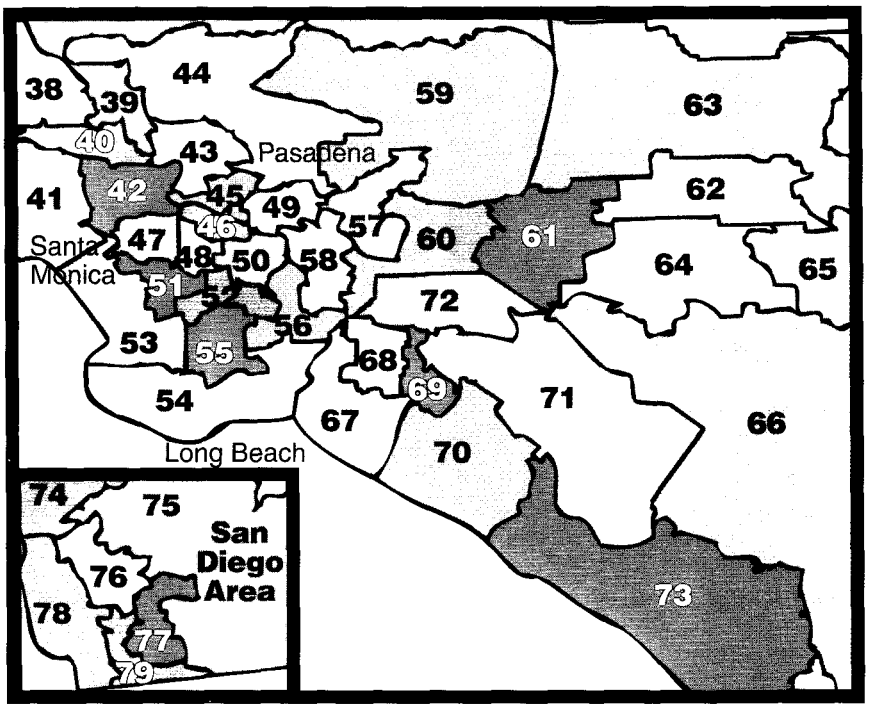
Chuck Ruetter of Sun City.

Key Issues: Rehabilitating public schools, school vouchers, rollbacks in vehicle/gas taxes, gun control measures, Highway 91 toll road, Mexican fruit fly quarantine.

Republican Dennis Hollingsworth proved last March that money isn't everything. The Murrieta businessman, making his first foray into elective politics, finished at the top of a four-person GOP field that also included Jeff Bennett, the founder of Nature's Recipe Pet Food Company. Bennett sank more than $1 million of his own money into the campaign but fell victim to the round-peg/square-hole syndrome: His brand of moderate politics just didn't fit the district. Hollingsworth, on the other hand, more closely resembles the legislator who represented this area for the past six years — conservative Republican Bruce Thompson. With GOP registration above 50 percent, the primary essentially was the election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

Los Angeles Basin Area



DISTRICT 67 (32% D - 49% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Andy Hilbert of La Palma. Republican: Tom Harman of Huntington Beach. Libertarian: Autumn Browne of Anaheim.

Key Issues: Beach and river pollution, gridlock on Garden Grove Freeway.

With voter registration overwhelmingly Republican, only one question remains: Which Republican will replace termed-out incumbent Scott Baugh? Moderate Tom Harman won the GOP primary this past March, but conservative Jim Righeimer challenged the result in court, arguing the election should be overturned in light of the U.S. Supreme Court's tossing of California's blanket primary law. Righeimer's challenge also was tossed by the courts, so unless another appeal is forthcoming, Harman will be the winner in November. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 68 (39% D - 42% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Tina Laine of Anaheim. Republican: Incumbent Ken Maddox of Garden Grove. Libertarian: Richard G. Newhouse of Garden Grove. Reform: Al Snook of Garden Grove.

Key Issues: Health coverage for uninsured, affordable housing, freeway sound walls, after-school programs.

This seat was once rock-solid Republican, home to former Assembly Speaker Curt Pringle. But GOP registration has dropped four points since 1992, while decline-to-state has increased by five, as numerous minority groups, led by Hispanics and Vietnamese, moved into the district. In 1998, Pringle's chosen successor, Ken Maddox, won the seat, although Democrats were pleasantly surprised when their candidate, Mike Matsuda, finished only 8 percent down despite spending little money. This time, Democratic leaders are keeping a close eye on this contest and may fund attorney Tina Laine's campaign if she's within striking distance by mid-October. Privately, some Democrats admit that there may be other GOP incumbents more vulnerable than Maddox, who has been attentive to his blue-collar district and earned kudos from labor for support on the eight-hour day and collective bargaining. Reapportionment may also play in the Democrats' decision-making, knowing they can pursue Maddox in 2002 after they've made the district friendlier for their side. LEANS REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 69 (51% D - 31% R - 13% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Lou Correa of Anaheim. Republican: Lou Lopez of Santa Ana. Natural Law: Brian Tuan Pham of Fullerton.

Key Issues: El Toro Marine Base conversion, gas tax, school vouchers.

Republican Jim Morrissey won this seat in 1994 on the strength of the surging GOP tide, then held it after Democrats shortchanged Lou Correa's challenge in 1996. Democrats made up for it in 1998 by coming in big for Correa, who defeated Morrissey. With a 20-point advantage in registration, Correa should be a lock for re-election. Former Anaheim City Councilman Lou Lopez hopes to challenge Correa for support among the district's 60 percent Latino population, but he's running an under-funded, grass-roots effort. Lopez also will have to contend with testimony raised during the bribery trial of a fellow councilman that he, too, solicited a bribe while on the

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Anaheim City Council—a claim Lopez denies. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 70 (29% D - 51% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Merritt Lori McKeon of Laguna Beach. Republican: John Campbell of Irvine. Libertarian: Bob Vondruska of Laguna Hills. Natural Law: Barry L. Katz of Tustin. Reform: Raymond O. Mills of Tustin.

Key Issues: Airport expansion, school funding inequities, beach pollution.

Here's ambition for you. Republican John Campbell hasn't even been elected, yet he's not ruling out a challenge for GOP caucus leader once he arrives in Sacramento. What the wealthy CPA and car dealer lacks in experience, he more than makes up for in chutzpah. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 71 (27% D - 55% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Bea Foster of Santa Ana. Republican: Incumbent Bill Campbell of Orange. Libertarian: Brian Lee Cross of Orange. Natural Law: Brenda Jo Bryant of Santa Ana.

Key Issues: El Toro Airport, electrical deregulation, local initiatives allocating tobacco settlement funds.

As a member of the Assembly Republican Caucus' election team, Bill Campbell may sweat the election of some of his colleagues, but not his own. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 72 (31% D - 52% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Gangadharappa Nanjundappa of Placentia. Republican: Lynn Daucher of Brea. Natural Law: John Wm. Zamarra of Fullerton.

Key Issues: Traffic congestion, electrical deregulation, local growth initiative in Brea.

Brea City Councilwoman Lynn Daucher, a pro-choice moderate, overcame two Republican opponents with the aid of some Democratic votes in the March blanket primary. One of Daucher's opponents, conservative Bruce Matthias, filed a challenge in court to overturn the primary results, claiming it denied Republicans the right to exclusively choose their party's nominee. Matthias subsequently dropped his challenge, leaving Daucher home free in this most Republican of Republican seats. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 73 (29% D - 50% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Robert D. Wilberg of Capistrano Beach. Republican: Incumbent Patricia C. "Pat" Bates of Laguna Niguel. Libertarian: Paul King of Oceanside. Natural Law: Paul Fisher of San Clemente.

Key Issues: Electrical deregulation, crowded highways, beach pollution.

Although she hasn't publicly expressed interest in the job, many Republicans believe Pat Bates will seek the post of Assembly GOP leader after the election. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 74 (30% D - 48% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: John Herrera of Vista. Republican: Mark Wyland of Escondido. Libertarian: Tom Hohman of Rancho Santa Fe. Natural Law: Barbara Bourdette of Solana Beach.

Key Issues: Affordable housing and rent control, student-teacher ratios through high school, school construction, regional impact fees for roads/sewer/water.

School board member Mark Wyland, a former Democrat, bested a seven-candidate field in the March primary to win the right to succeed termed-out Republican Howard Kaloogian. Wyland squeaked to the top of a hotly contested race by self-funding his campaign to the tune of $500,000. He won't have to spend more than 1 percent of that total on his fall election, however. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 75 (29% D - 49% R - 16% DS)

Democrat: Judith Walters of Spring Valley. Republican: Incumbent Charlene Zettel of San Diego. Libertarian: Gary Pietila of Ramona.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, freeway traffic congestion, modernization of schools, classroom capacity, growth, water quality and supply, health-care insurance for low-income families.

If first-year incumbent Republican Charlene Zettel loses this race to Democrat Judith Walters, California will have become a one-party state. SAFE REPUBLICAN

DISTRICT 76 (40% D - 37% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Christine Kehoe. Republican: Michelle Nash-Hoff. Libertarian: David Oakey. All of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, beach erosion and pollution, traffic congestion.

The debacle over energy deregulation has scrambled all preconceived notions about the tenor of this election in San Diego. No one is immune, not even city councilwoman Christine Kehoe, the Democrat anointed to succeed Democrat Susan Davis, who is termed out and running for Congress against Brian Bilbray. Energy problems aside, Kehoe ought to be a shoo-in come November. The district has a penchant for electing Democrats, and Kehoe ran 16 points ahead of Democratic registration in the March blanket primary, finishing some 30,000 votes ahead of her nearest GOP rival — businesswoman Michelle Nash-Hoff, a party activist who bested three other Republicans in the primary. Nash-Hoff's only other electoral experience was a failed campaign for city council in 1996. But that was before San Diegans saw their energy bills more than double over the summer, thanks to deregulation. Even though Kehoe did not vote on deregulation, she could lose some support because she shares the ballot with two other Democrats whose fortunes suffered because of the energy crisis — Davis and state Senator Dede Alpert. Otherwise, Kehoe is in good shape. She has a respectable cash balance, having amassed $300,000 by the most recent reporting period in late July — nearly 20 times that of Nash-Hoff, who reported a paltry $16,500 in the bank. That's enough money for a good direct-mail campaign but not enough to take advantage of TV. In addition, Nash-Hoff showed little ability to raise substantial sums on her own; in the primary, her biggest contributions came from moderate GOP caucus members. As a result, she likely will be unable to match Kehoe's treasury without a major infusion from Assembly Republicans, who are strapped for cash themselves and unlikely to spend on a marginal race. The question remains

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how marginal is this contest? Republicans have few opportunities anywhere else in the state and deregulation gives them an issue. As a result, San Diego would be an obvious place to pour resources into because so many districts are in play here. Democrats can't take this district for granted; any lapse of attention could cost them this seat, especially if October polls show Kehoe being pulled down by the energy mess. LEANS DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 77 (38% D - 41% R - 15% DS)

Democrat: Todd Keegan of El Cajon. Republican: Jay La Suer of La Mesa. Libertarian: Michael Metti of El Cajon.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, transportation infrastructure, class-size reduction, parental involvement in schools, school vouchers, gun control.

Reapportionment can't come soon enough for voters in the 77th Assembly District. Let's check the history of this San Diego-based enclave, which takes in Chula Vista, Lemon Grove, La Mesa and El Cajon, in addition to an

Keegan

La Suer

eastern chunk of San Diego city. In 1992 and again in 1994, voters were asked to choose between Democrat Tom Connolly and Republican Steve Baldwin, who were destined to represent AD 77 for the bulk of the decade. Connolly won in 1992 by portraying the conservative Baldwin as an hysterical nincompoop for claiming in a video-taped speech that the U.S. Air Force had an official witch — an assertion Baldwin has yet to live down. Baldwin in turn ousted Connolly in 1994 after pointing out that Connolly had a history of drug addiction and failed marriages, and that he was accused of sexually harassing his staff. Two years later, Connolly was convicted of having sex with a 14-year-old girl and sentenced to prison. He also admitted hiring prostitutes while a member of the Legislature. As for Baldwin, he won re-election in 1996 and 1998, but his ideological rigidity relegated him to back-bencher status throughout his tenure. Which brings us to 2000 and the looming brawl between a new cast of characters: Republican Jay La Suer, the vice mayor of La Mesa, and Democrat Todd Keegan, an El Cajon councilman. Both survived contested primaries, although La Suer's was the most heated. GOP opponent Penny Halgren accused La Suer of mismanagement and waste during his days as a San Diego County undersheriff, including allegations that he once spent $200,000 to refurbish his office. The Halgren campaign, run by McNally-Temple of Sacramento, also painted La Suer to the right of Baldwin on subjects such as abortion, gun control and the environment. Bruised, La Suer nonetheless survived the primary. Democrats, sens-

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ing that Halgren had softened up La Suer, initially targeted the district for Keegan, touted as a popular local official. Then in April, Keegan was fined $4,000 by the Fair Political Practices Commission for a conflict-of-interest vote while a member of the city council. More significant to his credibility, Republican opposition research turned up the fact that Keegan may not have earned the university degree he claims on his resume' and Web site – an allegation confirmed by the registrar's office at San Diego State University. Keegan disputes the accusation but failed to provide evidence to the contrary. With all this swill in the air, to say that another nasty campaign is brewing would be an understatement. Democrats insist they will fully fund Keegan's effort and, to that effect, he has asked the caucus for $750,000. But the decision to spend that kind of money on Keegan had not been made as of Labor Day, and there is some thought that the candidate's flaws have dropped him to the bottom of the caucus' priority list. Meanwhile, Democrats are trying to minimize Keegan's foibles by insisting that voters will decide the contest based on issues. Republicans counter that character *is* an issue. On the natural, this is La Suer's race to lose, and his main worry is whether Democrats will shovel in money for no other reason than they have money to shovel at an opponent they perceive as vulnerable. Meanwhile, district voters are stuck with a less-than-gentlemanly campaign leading to a less-than-enviable choice. Some political districts — like some people — simply are star-crossed. Perhaps reapportionment can help by shattering the district into a dozen pieces, thus dissipating its unfortunate karma. LEANS REPUBLICAN

Don't miss
California Journal's
report on political and campaign consultants in the November 2000 edition!

DISTRICT 78 (37% D - 38% R - 17% DS)

Democrat: Incumbent Howard Wayne of San Diego. Republican: John Steel of La Jolla. Libertarian: Dennis Triglia. Natural Law: Ray Wingfield. Both of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, health insurance, access to health care, long-term elderly care, beach contamination, shoreline pollution, quality of education, privacy of medical/financial records.

The 78th Assembly District is one of those San Diego venues that confound the conventional wisdom. Registration figures point to Republican hegemony, but the GOP hasn't won it in more than a decade, in part because independent voters here tend to be to the left of the Democratic Party. Two-term incumbent Howard Wayne, the current beneficiary of district voting patterns, is poised to return for a third and final term. His campaign treasury in late July boasted more than $200,000 in the bank, nearly four times that of Republican John Steel. Although not an imposing campaigner, Wayne is a worker, both during election season and in addressing constituent concerns and problems. As a result, he's built respect among voters from both parties. Republicans may also have trouble generating much outside support for Steel because they raised such high hopes two years ago with Jean Roesch, a school board trustee with impeccable credentials on paper but who proved a poor candidate on the ground. Business interests invested heavily in Roesch only to see her flattened by Wayne. Those same interests likely won't follow the GOP banner this time around, thus depriving Steel and the Republicans a Rolodex of major contributors. Thus far, the San Diego deregulation fiasco doesn't seem to be touching Wayne, who was not in the Legislature when the dereg bill passed in 1996. If he can avoid contact with the dereg virus, Wayne will coast to reelection. If not, bets are off all over San Diego. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 79 (53% D - 25% R - 14% DS)

Democrat: Juan Vargas. Republican: Jon Parungao. Libertarian: Richard Cardulla. All of San Diego.

Key Issues: Energy deregulation, beach erosion and pollution, traffic congestion.

City Councilman Juan Vargas' only worry was the March primary where he faced off against Dennis Crenshaw, a legislative aide popular with Sacramento lawmakers. Vargas, however, scored a convincing victory over Crenshaw and won't be pressed by Republican Jon Parungao, who comes out of the area's growing Filipino community. Vargas succeeds Democrat Denise Ducheny, who is termed out. SAFE DEMOCRATIC

DISTRICT 80 (43% D - 40% R - 12% DS)

Democrat: Joey Acuna Jr. of Coachella. Republican: Dave Kelley of Palm Desert. Libertarian: Susan Weber of Palm Desert.

Key Issues: Water quality and supply, Colorado River water rights, growth and development in Coachella Valley, education test scores, low-performing schools, illegal immigration costs.

This district might be on some target lists if it weren't for the Republican nominee — Dave Kelley. First elected to the Assembly in 1978, he served in the lower house until 1992 when he won a seat in the state Senate. Termed out of the Senate in 2000, Kelley is seeking a seat swap with Republican Jim Battin, who is termed out of the 80th District this year and running for Kelley's 37th Senate seat. After serving in the Legislature for 22 years, Kelley has wide name recognition and is well-regarded throughout the district. Democrat Joe Acuna Jr. is a school board trustee from Coachella who lost to Battin two years ago and captured only half as many votes as Kelley this past March, despite both candidates having contested primaries. SAFE REPUBLICAN

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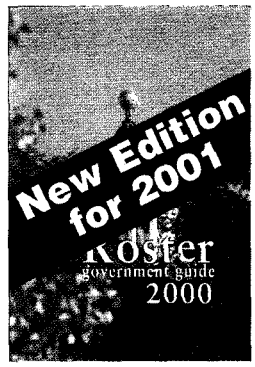

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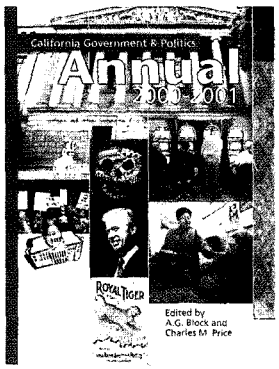

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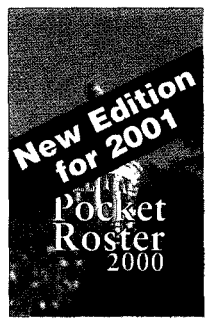

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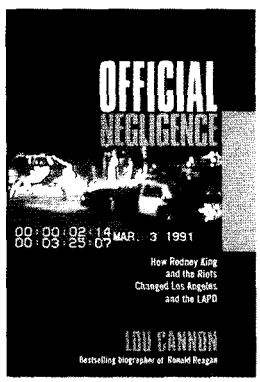

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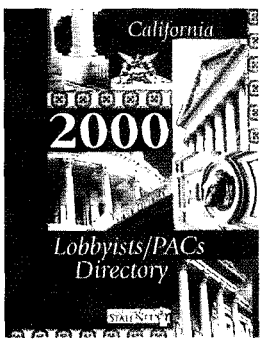

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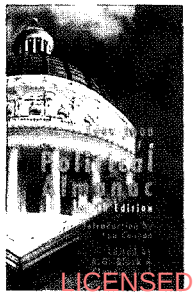

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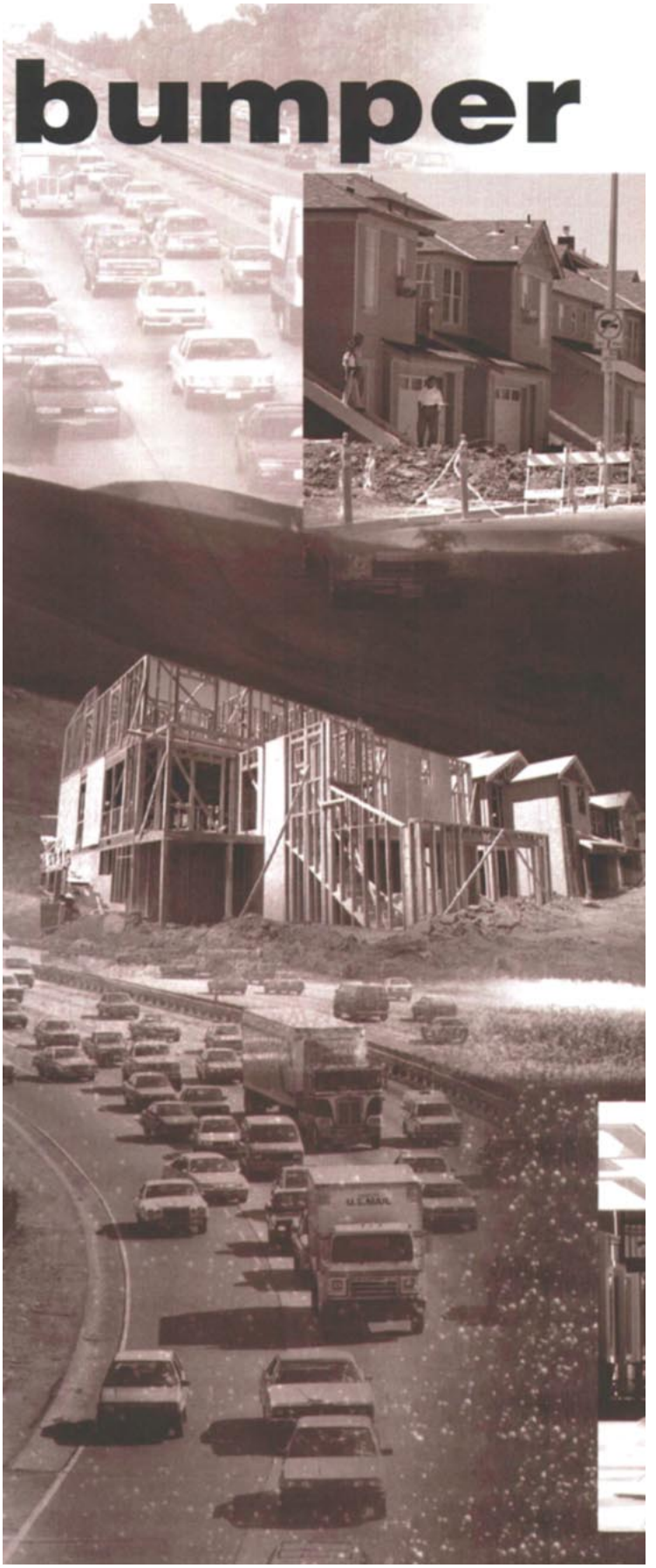
A ballot bumper crop



As crowded California increasingly jostles to make room for everyone, the debate between advocates of sprawl vs. space is increasingly being decided at the voting booth. From San Francisco to San Diego, voters will head to the polls this election to decide nearly 50 local land-use issues — the largest number since 1990.

By William Fulton and Paul Shigley

The dusty town of Yucaipa, about 20 miles southeast of San Bernardino on I-10, would not appear to be a hotbed of environmental activism. Dirt bikes and horses are often preferred modes of transportation in the blue-collar city. Like elsewhere in the Inland Empire, Yucaipa usually welcomes development with open arms.

This year, however, Yucaipa has been divided by a battle over a proposed housing subdivision and retail development that would feature a Wal-Mart and The Home Depot. In May, the city council, enticed by the potential sales tax revenue, voted 3-1 to approve the Robinson Ranch North development along the I-10 free-

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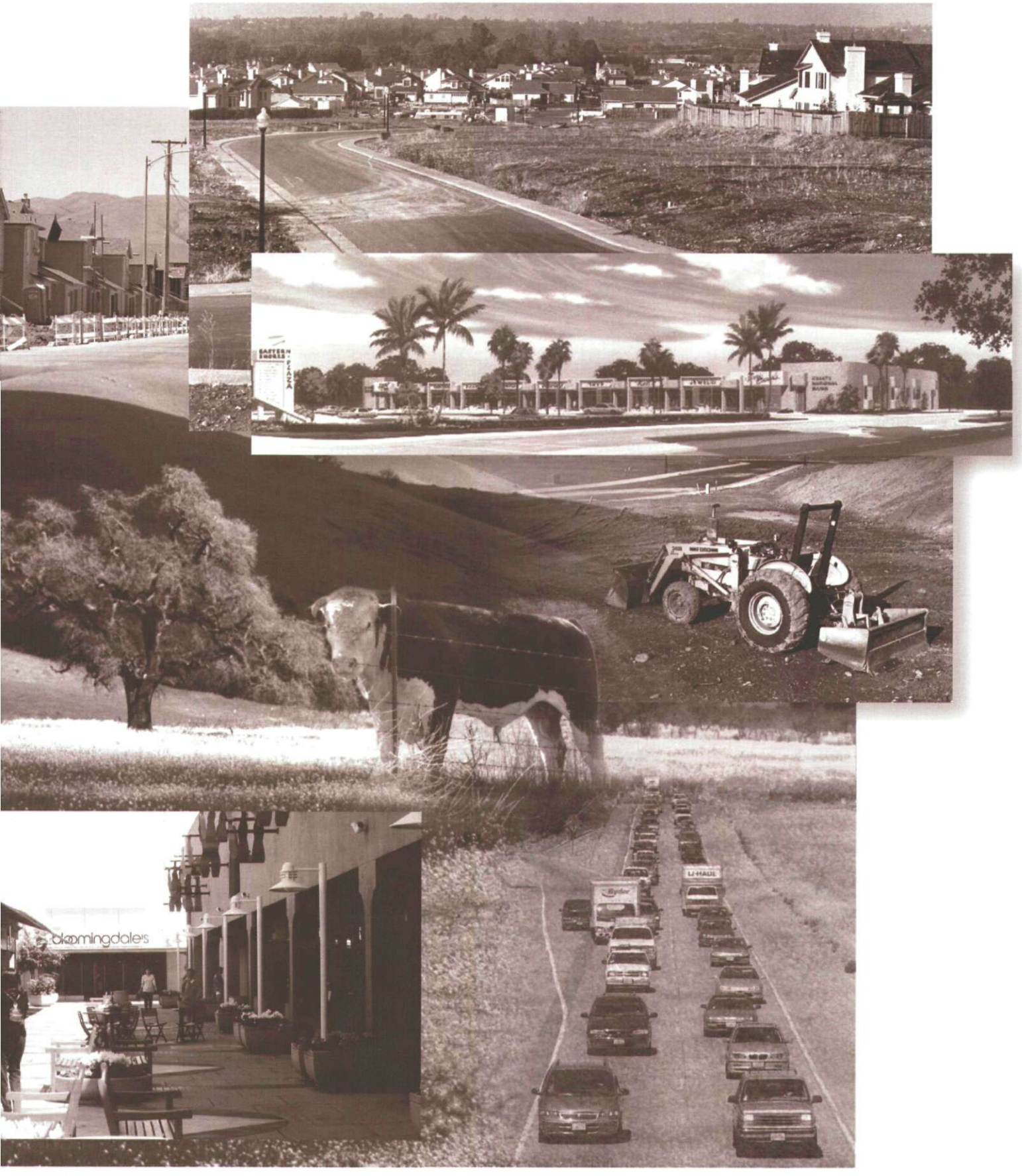

way.

Soon, there were referendum petitions circulating to overturn that vote. With the backing of the United Food Commercial Workers (which often battles the mostly non-union Wal-Mart), a grass-roots group concerned about the rural character of its neighborhood collected enough sig-

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natures to force a vote on amending the general plan, which is a city's or county's blueprint for growth. Owners of property across the freeway, who want their own big-box development, were only too happy to see the arrival of a referendum drive.

The Yucaipa situation illustrates just how many competing players can factor into a land-use ballot measure: homeowners who don't want the neighborhood to change; a labor union fighting to protect its turf; dueling developers; and a city council that wants to fill its municipal coffers. So much for "smart growth."

Unique to California

Only in California do local land-use choices go on the ballot. Other states, notably Washington and Colorado, offer citizens the same easy access to ballot initiatives but those measures aren't used to decide local land-use issues. Only in California do voters regularly make decisions on general plan amendments, zoning changes, redevelopment programs and even development agreements between builders and municipalities.

Now, after a number years on the wane, ballot-box planning is back en masse this year, reaching into localities as unlikely as Yucaipa, where growth usually generates little controversy.

On November 7, voters from Lassen County in the north to Solana Beach in the south will decide on nearly 50 growth-related ballot measures — the largest number of land-use issues on local ballots since 1990. It means that the often-emotional debates engendered by land development will be occurring countless times in dozens of communities this fall.

"They seem to proliferate when times are good," said Terry Rivasplata, an environmental planner for Jones & Stokes Associates, who spent 13 years with the state Office of Planning and Research.

While the ballot measures are the public's response to development pressures and a changing landscape, the measures often have unintended consequences and can wind up complicating land-use planning, Rivasplata said. "They are difficult to deal with because they are essentially political in nature, [while] planners always try to be very objective and systematic," he said.

This year's collection ranges from big-picture considerations of growth patterns, such as the Save Open space and Agricultural Resources (SOAR) initiative in San Luis Obispo County, to those that are project-specific, such as the Yucaipa Wal-Mart. There are advisory measures, including one that counters a major tourism proposal for Pier 45 in San Francisco, and charter amendments, such as one in San Marcos that would require zoning to match the general plan. And there are follow-ups to previous ballot measures, such as a proposal that would allow the city of Ventura to build a sports park on cropland, and no fewer than eight general plan amendments in Escondido. The ballot measures even reach into the Central Valley, which is rare. Voters in Tracy will decide on an initiative to reduce building permits by half (a similar measure barely failed in March); the electorate in Lathrop will consider amending a development agreement to allow a builder to erect 8,500 homes before developing the theme parks that he had promised to build first.

Environmentalists in the San Francisco Bay Area started the ballot-box planning movement during the early 1970s to slow suburban growth in outlying areas; a liberal state Supreme Court upheld the practice a decade later. By 1986, ballot-box planning had migrated to Southern California.

Linked to the economy

Since 1986, voters have decided more than 600 measures on local ballots. Based on analysis by the *California Planning & Development Report,* the large number of land-use issues on the ballot this fall should come as no surprise. We found that when the economy has been humming, ballot-box planning increases. But when the economy slows, as it did during the early 1990s, voters apparently have other things to worry about besides subdivisions and farmland preservation. In 1994, four years after the peak of ballot-box planning in California, only 24 measures appeared on local ballots, one-quarter the total of 1990. (For a complete, 15-year analysis of local land-use ballot measures, go to www.cp-dr.com.)

While recent history provides insight into the mushrooming number of ballot measures, it is of minimal help in forecasting the outcomes for this November. Research shows the slow-growth side has won 57 percent of the ballot measures overall. But since 1996, results have been nearly even: The pro-growth side has won 73 elections while slow-growth advocates were victorious 72 times. Even voters in the Bay Area, where the planning-by-ballot movement began, have taken the slow-growth side only slightly more than half the time since 1996. Voters in San Diego County, another hotbed of ballot-box planning, have shifted from supporting the slow-growth side in 54 percent of the ballot measures decided between 1986 and 1990, to voting pro-growth 54 percent of the time since 1996.

One of the most closely watched contests this fall is in Sonoma County, where a coalition of environmental groups qualified the Rural Heritage Initiative for the ballot. The initiative would freeze existing land use and building rights in rural areas for 30 years. Nearly all changes to rural land designations, which cover about 80 percent of the county, would require approval at the ballot. Because of interest in Sonoma County's popular wine industry, the rapid growth of technology businesses and a sizzling housing market, the Rural Heritage Initiative has received attention from reporters as far away as *The New York Times.* Initiative backers talk of "democratizing land use," while opponents, led by the Sonoma County Farm Bureau, say the measure violates property rights and would greatly complicate obtaining approval for even simple farm projects.

"What we are doing is shifting the decision-making power," said AnnaLis Dalrymple, North Bay field representative of the Greenbelt Alliance, the initiative's prime sponsor. "We're not saying we don't need housing. What

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we're about is where we grow and how we grow."

Backers of the Rural Heritage Initiative used Napa County's Measure J from 1990 as a model. That landmark initiative, which withstood review by the state Supreme Court, was a general plan amendment that reaffirmed agricultural land-use designations throughout Napa County for 30 years and required a vote to change those designations.

In Sonoma County, Dalyrmple said, the general plan directs growth to existing urban areas, and seven of the county's nine cities have adopted complementary boundaries that limit urban expansion. But, she noted, the county's general plan can be amended to accommodate a particular developer's project at any time with only three votes on the board of supervisors.

"I just know that people are interested and want to weigh in on this. They don't feel like they have as much as say as they would like," Dalrymple said.

But Tim Smith, a Sonoma County supervisor since 1988, called the Rural Heritage Initiative "a solution in search of a problem." Since 1978, he said, the board of supervisors has closely followed a general plan that is popular with slow-growth advocates. The county has even created its own style of halting sprawl by freezing rural zoning on land adjoining city boundaries, Smith noted.

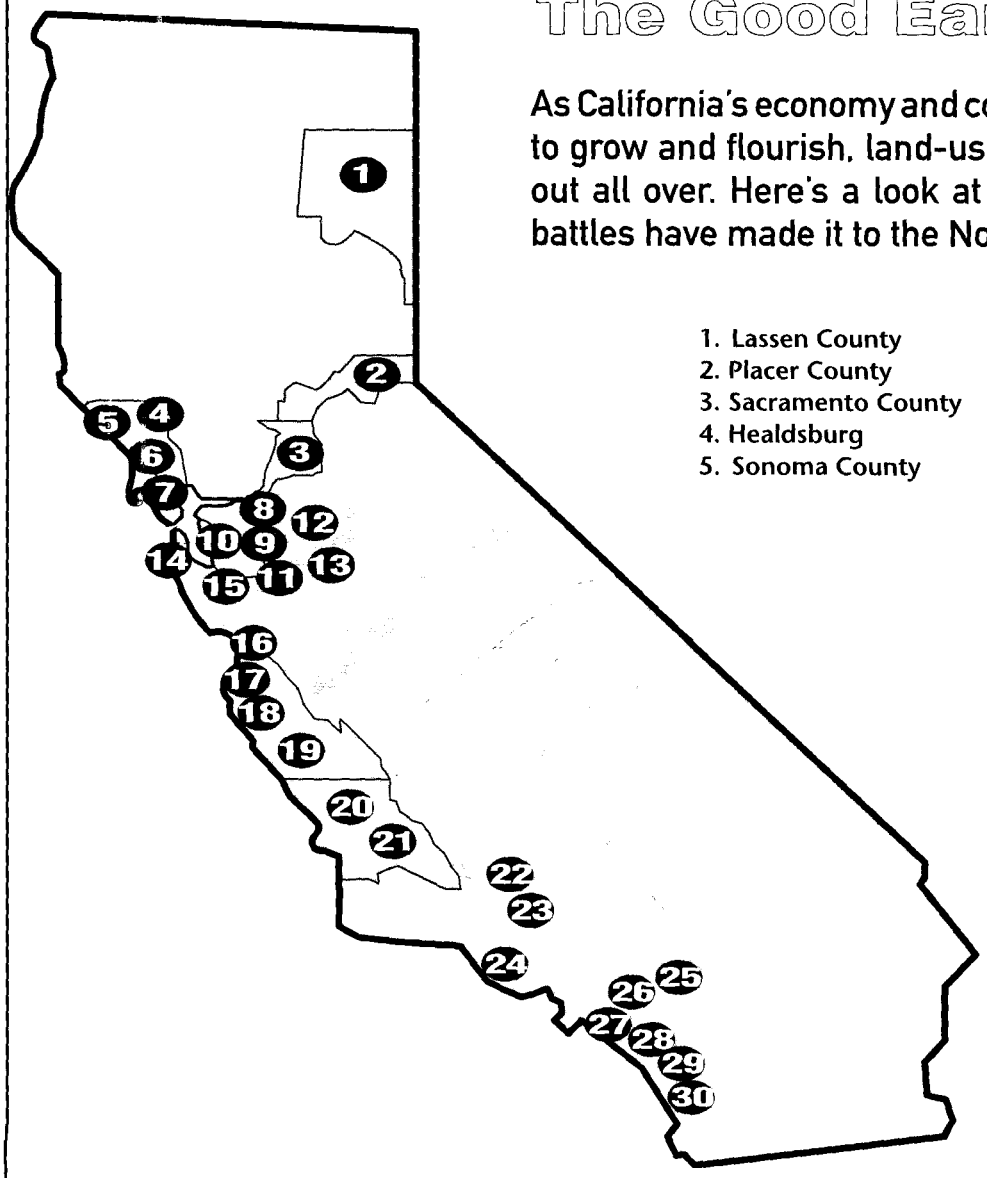
"It [the Rural Heritage Initiative] is assuming that those of us who have kids are raising a bunch of blithering idiots who can't take care of the land like we have," Smith said. "I think there's a certain arrogance to it."

The Alameda example

Alameda County is experiencing a similar debate

The Good Earth

As California's economy and communities continue to grow and flourish, land-use battles are busting out all over. Here's a look at locations where the battles have made it to the November ballot.



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6. City of Sonoma
7. Rohnert Park
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10. Dublin
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12. Lathrop
13. Tracy
14. San Francisco
15. San Jose
16. Marina
17. City of Monterey
18. Pacific Grove
19. Monterey County
20. San Luis Obispo County
21. Paso Robles
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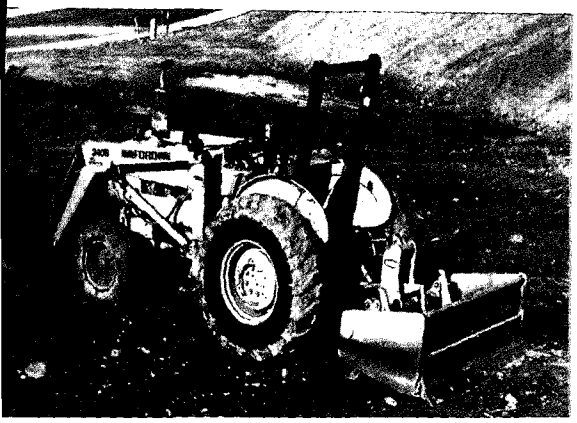

Only in California do local land-use choices go on the ballot.

regarding a Sierra Club-backed anti-growth initiative and an alternative measure placed on the ballot by the county board of supervisors. The Sierra Club's initiative would draw a tight, urban-growth boundary around communities in eastern Alameda County's Tri-Valley area. Most notably, the Sierra Club initiative would block development in North Livermore, where city and county planners are working on a proposal to accommodate 30,000 new residents in exchange for protecting 8,000 acres of farmland and open space. The alternative ballot measure would draw a larger urban growth boundary, allowing the North Livermore project and other potential developments to go forward.

Backers of the Sierra Club initiative were furious about the proposed measure and even filed a lawsuit, which they lost, to keep it off the ballot. The supervisors' proposal, known as the "Vision 2010" measure, was the result of a year-long "visioning" process that involved environmental, business, housing and local government officials in the Tri-Valley area. Unlike the Sierra Club's initiative, which garnered more than 40,000 petition signatures, the Vision 2010 measure made the ballot with the consent of just four county supervisors.

Dick Schneider, conservation chairman for the Sierra Club's San Francisco Bay Chapter, said that placing a competing measure on the ballot is a tactic straight from the developers' campaign handbook. But Valerie Raymond, a former Alameda County supervisor and leader of the Vision 2010 effort, said the group announced its intentions for a ballot measure when it released its vision report in October 1999, well before the Sierra Club began circulating petitions.

Besides giving voters two choices, the campaign promises to be an interesting exercise because of one other significant factor: Most Alameda County voters live in a heavily urbanized strip of the west county that stretches from Berkeley to Fremont, but the two ballot measures will determine growth "over the hill" along the I-580 and I-680 corridors.

"We need to explain why this is of interest to them," Schneider conceded. "I live in Oakland. I think all county residents share an interest in protecting the remaining agricultural and open space lands of the county."

He said pushing development into the pastures and canyons of the county's eastern region will result in more cars headed to west-county job sites.

But Raymond, a solid environmental vote while representing the Tri-Valley area on the board of supervisors from 1976 to 1980, wonders if Sierra Club leaders have visited Livermore, Dublin and Pleasanton lately. By sprouting gigantic business parks, those towns have become job centers that are poised to add tens of thousands of jobs in coming years.

"It seems to me if you are going to invite people to work in your community, you have a responsibility to at least provide an opportunity for them to live there," he said.

Raymond believes the Sierra Club should look at the bigger picture. "Where will growth go if it doesn't go here? I couldn't say in good conscience that it makes more sense to build this in the Central Valley than in North Livermore," she said.

Elsewhere, voters are dealing with the effects of earlier growth-control measures. Two years ago, voters in the San Diego suburb of Escondido backed Proposition S, which requires voters to approve general plan amendments. As a result, eight separate ballot measures will confront voters on the November ballot. Four of those would allow industrial developments of three to six acres each on what is now residential land, and four others would increase residential zoning density for certain housing projects.

Escondido Mayor Laurie Holt Pfeiler said people voted for Proposition S to gain a louder voice in the growth debate. But she is concerned that the initiative hampers officials' ability to plan, especially when a developer might need to wait 18 months or longer for an election.

"It takes away the ability of the local elected officials to make the decisions for the community. I don't think the public has the time to understand the subtleties and all of the details of a general plan amendment," Holt Pfeiler said.

Rivasplata, the former Office of Planning and Research planner, said initiatives that require follow-up votes "kind of go against this notion that planning should be able to respond to change."

But Proposition S proponents counter that Escondido's initiative does not hurt planning at all because only amendments to an adopted general plan require a vote of the public. If officials follow the plan, there's no need for an election.

That may be, but it is clear that ballot measures make most officials at City Hall nervous. Boiling down intricate land-use planning details to a bumper sticker slogan can only complicate matters later on, they argue.

"I think it's always dangerous to put land-use considerations on the ballot," said Sonoma County Supervisor Smith. "I think it creates the potential for neighbor against neighbor."

William Fulton is editor and publisher of California Planning & Development Report. *Paul Shigley is managing editor of the publication. Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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College teachers as "freeway flyers"

by Keith Atwater

Imagine the California Highway Patrol hiring a thousand officers at hourly rates, without benefits, to work Monday, Wednesday, and Friday mornings. Another thousand work only on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons. Both groups of officers, unlike their full-time brethren, advance only through cost-of-living adjustments. Now imagine *any* team of trained professionals from air traffic controllers to zoo biologists working a few hours a week at one site, then driving to another — using their cars as offices. Sound crazy? That's how about 40 percent of all college teachers in America live and work.

I once practiced my profession that way, teaching English and history at several California colleges. After teaching two courses (the maximum allowed by law) at Sacramento City College, I'd zip to a class at Solano College, then teach two undergraduate courses at Cal State Sacramento on alternate days. We've been dubbed "freeway flyers," and the label fits. Many of my colleagues drive to and from Yuba College, Sierra College, Napa College, and UC Davis. Why do we fly the freeways? Because we want to do what we're trained to do — teach.

> It's time we discover the truth about the cheap, shoddy way that much of higher education occurs.

I have two master's degrees and have taught in junior and senior high schools, not to mention unpleasant "drive-through university" teaching experiences at National and Chapman. My fellow flyers, all with master's degrees, some with Ph.D.s, many with publications, research and business experience, make up close to half the labor force in two- and four-year colleges, according to our union statistics. We collectively teach most of the remedial, entry level and undergraduate courses, grade most of the papers and tests, and interact with most of the students on any campus, even though we're crammed three or four to an office (if we get an office) for office hours (which we hold, though often unpaid). It's likely that you, your friends, or your children have been taught by part-timers, those temporary, non-tenured folks usually called "staff" in course schedules.

Ask college presidents why well over a third of their employees are part-time temps, and they'll say it's because we have careers in the private sector and teach an occasional course as a way of sharing expertise or community service. Baloney. We are cheap labor. Most of us piece together several teaching assignments, often teaching the same number of courses as our tenured brethren (whom we outnumber) for literally half the pay. Unlike tenured professors, we are evaluated on our classroom performance every term; we live permanently without job security. Most of us scramble for what we can get — days, nights, weekends. A hundred full-time teachers in the Los Rios Community College district in Sacramento (one of California's largest) ply their craft while 200 others with the same degree teach one or two classes and work toward their goal: a chance to interview for rare, full-time openings.

Why, then, so few new hires? Shrinking budgets and enrollments? Actually, enrollment is skyrocketing. Students jam the hallways in long lines outside full classes, overflow the parking lot capacity, and race from waiting list to waiting list. And we freeway flyers keep on flying. Politicians, pundits and parents cry out for "21st-century education" — higher standards, teacher training, exit exams, classroom computers. Meanwhile, part-timers meet with large classes, hustling back to their cars with bulging briefcases of papers. If we all walked out of our classrooms together, the nation's colleges would virtually shut down.

So who wins and who loses? Clearly, part-timers suffer in every area: salary, retirement, benefits, job security, status and recognition, not to mention mundane things like parking and office space. Students lose, too. They pay for courses from teachers who can't be reached, teachers with little time, little space and little or no say in what and how they teach. How can students build relationships and discover their academic strengths and passions when half their teachers are on the freeway? Good teaching happens in this egregious system mainly because we part-timers want to teach, we like to teach, we are trained to teach, and we're good at teaching. It's time our nation discovers the truth about the cheap, shoddy way that much of so-called higher education occurs.

So, if law enforcement, air traffic controlling and most other professional occupations perform far better with full-time staffs, imagine how excellent college education could be if we "flyers" landed in permanent teaching positions on one college campus.

Keith Atwater teaches English and history at Union Mine High School in El Dorado and advocates for multicultural curriculum and diversity training. Comments may be sent to **edit@statenet.com.**

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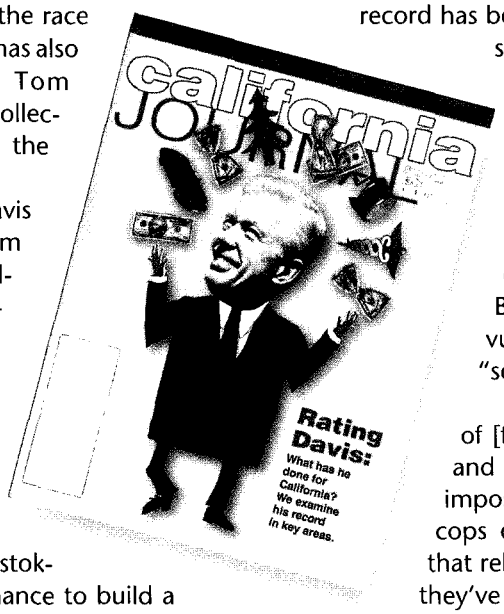
letters

Readers rate the governor

I find it remarkable that you could devote an issue of the *California Journal* to assessing Governor Davis' performance (August 2000) without mentioning his abysmal record of stonewalling the concerns of his constituents of color. Latinos and African-Americans overwhelmingly voted for him yet he inaugurated his term by insulting the former by continuing to defend the racist Proposition 187. He has since snubbed the latter by deflecting the very moderate demand that police agencies record the race of people they deal with. He has also resisted [state Senator] Tom Hayden's effort to require collection of data about race in the public schools.



On matters of race, Davis isn't really much different from [former Governor Pete] Wilson; [Davis] just doesn't advertise his pandering to the fearful part of the still-majority white electorate so enthusiastically. Like Wilson, his policies are incredibly short-sighted, trading the momentary advantages to be gained by stoking white bigotry for the chance to build a viable future for all Californians.

Jan Adams
Oakland

It is difficult to say who, of two, is most careless of his facts in "Rating Gray Davis" (August 2000). Is it Tony Quinn, who made a truly stupid statement, or Steve Scott for quoting him directly without determining the facts?

The quote — "(Davis) could have the easiest re-election of a governor since 1954, when Goodwin Knight got re-elected and the Democrats didn't even put anybody up."

In 1954, Richard Graves was the Democratic nominee for governor and, although he was badly beaten, he was a good and viable candidate. Graves had been either president or CEO of the League of California Cities and made a spirited race and, although defeated, probably got as high a percentage of the total vote as did Lungren in his 1998 race against Davis.

For a "Republican analyst" not to know this speaks, I fear, of the general competence of the Republicans in general.

One other very minor point: Knight was not, technically, "re-elected" because he had not been "elected," having succeeded to the governorship from his position as lieutenant governor after Earl Warren had been named chief justice of the United States [Supreme Court].

As a decades-long reader of the *California Journal*, I hate to see such sloppy research in your political editor's reporting.

Donald Page
Placerville

Conspicuously missing from your list of "key issues" upon which to assess Gray Davis' performance as governor is criminal justice, where his record has been as sorry, as vindictive and short-sighted as any governor's anywhere. Just as George Wallace vowed never to be "out-segged again" after losing to a white supremacist in 1958, Davis evidently concluded from the unhappy experience of his old boss, Jerry Brown, that he must never be vulnerable to a charge of being "soft on crime."

The strategy? Get to the right of [former governor] Pete Wilson and never waver. Make parole an impossibility by putting only retired cops on the parole board. Decide that rehabilitation is for wimps. After they've served every minute of hard time, kick convicts out with nothing more than a suit of clothes, 50 bucks, and a bus ticket.

This virtually assures a high recidivism rate, of course, but not to worry: just build more prisons and receive even more generous campaign contributions from the prison guards' union.

Aside from the brutality of it, a policy that forces ever greater spending on prisons and, accordingly, affords less for everything else is surely of enough importance to rate being called a "key issue."

Ned Paynter
San Diego

I am astounded that the *California Journal* article, "The education governor," August 2000, does not describe the work of [state] Senator Dede Alpert of San Diego in enacting the recent California education reforms.

Senator Alpert is the indispensable lawmaker in the development, negotiation and passage of the education reform package. Chairwoman of the Senate Education Committee, Senator Alpert wrote the school accountability bill, a national beacon. Senator Alpert's SB 1X created the Academic Performance Index and set up intervention procedures for under-performing schools, both

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central to the Davis plan to improve California public schools.

John Lockhart
San Diego

As you might surmise, I read with interest your August article "Where's He Headed?" that rated the Davis administration's accomplishments in several key areas, including environmental protection.

While *California Journal* articles are usually well researched and objective, your description of the Davis administration's environmental record was a deep disappointment, particularly since no reference was made to information from my office. Did you make an effort to speak with me? Did you visit our Web site? Did you review our semi-annual reports of accomplishments and priorities?

I would like to help with any future story you write about the Davis administration's environmental accomplishments by providing you with three semi-annual reports of Cal/EPA's accomplishments and priorities. A reading of these reports will no doubt lead you to conclude that the Davis administration has an outstanding record of protecting and cleaning up California's environment.

I would be happy to meet and discuss with you the things we are doing at Cal/EPA to protect the environment and public health for all Californians.

Winston H. Hickox,
Agency Secretary
California Environmental
Protection Agency

A vote against vouchers

School vouchers rank right up there with privatization of utilities as examples of the right wing's invitation to Americans to shoot themselves in the foot.

School voucher supporters here in the Los Angeles Unified School District endlessly characterize our teachers' union, UTLA, as harboring lazy and inept teachers. It has been my experience, however, that that kind of teacher, mainly interested in money, "moves up" to become an administrator, where she will have little to do except meddle and attend meetings that reinforce her self-image as a manager, rather than a facilitator.

In LAUSD, we teach to 82 different language groups, we have school-based management and a lot of reaching out, both to and from the community. The admittedly high drop-out rate is 10 percent better than a few years ago. The idea that an immigrant parent working 100 hours a week at minimum wage should be given a coupon worth a fraction of the cost of his child's education and be asked to shop for a school like I have to shop for a long-distance [telephone] carrier turns my stomach. (Such a parent is probably going to one of our adult night schools with her few free hours.)

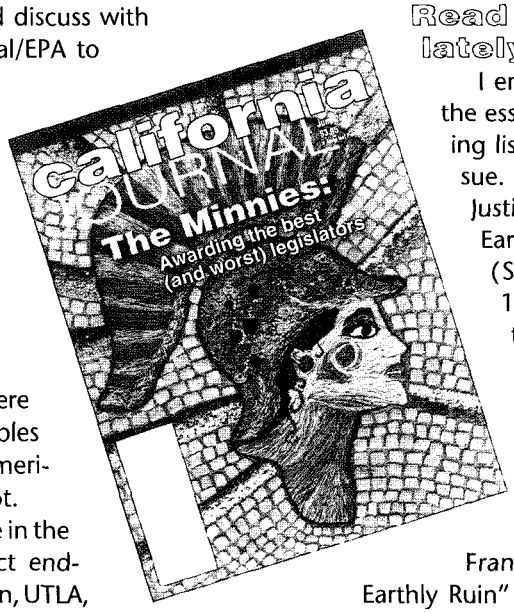
Meanwhile, public education money would go to private religious schools with their own axes to grind, and Mr. High-end gets a nice check to subsidize the elitist education of his child in an atmosphere where a poor kid is never seen, except as a joke on television.

Vouchers are a scheme sold by the rich and the religious who gave up on public education long ago. The scheme will destroy the public school as the melting pot of cultures and the center of any community. It would create a tangle of licensing and regulation.

School vouchers, like privatization of utilities, sell off and sell out public space for the benefit of those interests that need it the least.

Glenn Hopkins
Santa Monica

letters



Read a good book lately?

I enjoyed your article on the essential California reading list in the June 2000 issue. I might add: "Chief Justice: A Biography of Earl Warren" by Ed Cray (Simon & Schuster, 1997); "The Shadow of the Panther: Huey Newton and the Price of Black Power in America" by Hugh Pearson (Addison-Wesley, 1994); "Imperial San Francisco: Urban Power, Earthly Ruin" by Gray Brechin (UC Press, 1999); "The White Album" by Joan Didion (Simon & Schuster, 1979); "To Begin Again: Stories and Memoirs, 1908-1929" by M.F.K. Fisher (Pantheon, 1992); and "Days of Obligation: An Argument With My Mexican Father" by Richard Rodriguez (Viking Penguin, 1992).

Peter Richardson
Walnut Creek

Thanks so very much for publishing your comprehensive "Essential California Journal Reading List" in June 2000 and the Readers' Adden-

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letters

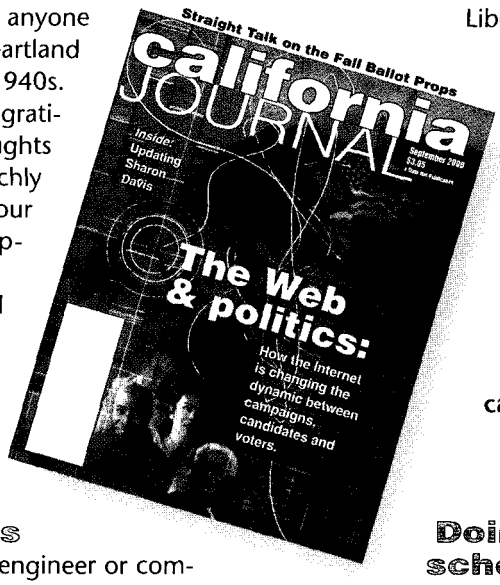
dum in September 2000.

I would commend to your roster two novels about Depression-era California, "Long Haul" and "Thieves Market," both by A.I. (Albert Isaac) Bezzerides. A child of our church, Bezzerides examined the California experience through the eyes of those who toiled in the fields, packing sheds, truck stops and commission produce houses of the Golden State.

His powerful prose and vivid narratives make "Long Haul" and "Thieves Market" essential reading for anyone who seeks to understand the heartland of California in the 1930s and 1940s.

Please accept our heartfelt gratitude for considering these thoughts and may God continue to richly bless you, your colleagues and your families as Election Day approaches.

Reverend Bernard Guekguezian
Senior Pastor,
First Armenian Presbyterian Church


Straight Talk on the Fall Ballot Props
California JOURNAL
Insider: Updating Sharon Davis
The Web & politics:
How the Internet is changing the dynamic between campaigns, candidates and voters.

Tallying the parties

Since I have worked as an engineer or computer programmer my whole career, I found your July issue to be one of your two best issues so far this year. The other high interest issue for me was, of course, the April issue about the primary results. *California Journal* deserves credit for at least mentioning every Libertarian candidate, except me (even after the June correction).

In the interest of better coverage and citizen participation, I would like to put in a plug for Project Vote Smart. I recently received my Vote Smart Web Yellow Pages and Voter's Self-Defense Manual (available by calling 1-888-Vote-Smart or going online at *www.Vote-Smart.org.*).

I noticed something very interesting in their Yellow Pages [on Web sites]. My count of state party Web sites put Libertarians first with 48. Next came the Republicans with 45 sites and Democrats with 39. The Green Party and Reform Party were close with 30 and 29 respectively (the next highest was four).

The voter's manual is about issues and reveals another interesting fact. Of the five parties mentioned before, only Libertarian presidential candidate Harry Browne was, to quote Project Vote Smart, "willing to do the right and honorable thing in the national interest, by providing citizens with the essential information requested in the National Political Awareness Test." Dedicated volunteers had to fill in the answers for Bush and Gore based on speeches they have made. Project Vote Smart deserves much credit for this service to citizens. They currently have data on over 13,000 candidates.

The Project Vote Smart Web site yields the following data on the number of candidates for California state Senate and Assembly:

Democrat 99, Republican 97, Libertarian 67, Natural Law 24, Green 4 and Reform 4. The California numbers for Congress are: Natural Law 52, Democrat 51, Republican 51, and Libertarian 46, Reform 8 and Green 5. At 113 total, Libertarian candidates are more than the number of all other alternate parties combined. It should be clear who the real alternative to the Republicrats is.

John R. Gibson,
Lancaster
Libertarian Party
candidate for state Senate,
District 17

Doing the math on school spending

Your analysis of Proposition 38 lists California per-student public spending at $6,672. That figure is the "Proposition 98" number, which does not include the cost of school construction, interest payments on school bonds, lottery money or federal aid to education. When all sources of funding are factored in, per-student public school spending in California is around $8,500, a figure that makes far more clear how a $4,000 voucher can result in billions of dollars in long-term savings, even after paying for vouchers for the 11 percent of our students who are already enrolled in private schools.

Alan Bonsteel
California Parents for Educational Choice

Bush defenders speak up

If the August 2000 letter to the editor by Bruce Jones is any indication of what is to come, frustrated Gore supporters will have the *California Journal's* Letters Rostrum looking like the rejected entries section of a fiction writing contest!

While poking fun of George W. Bush, he [Jones] inaccurately accuses Bush of having the near-universally loathed qualities of Al Gore.

The total desperation of this Gore supporter, possessed of a presidential candidate of whom he surely cannot be proud, is highlighted by his

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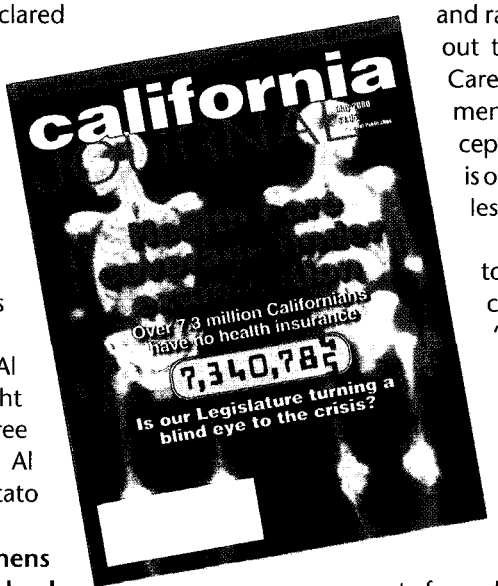
having to stoop to "Bush must be dumb" name-calling. He must also neglect to mention the high level of intelligence of the Al Gore who called art a sport, Michael Jackson the nation's greatest basketball player, and who gave 84 "I don't remember" answers in the recent inquiry about his campaign money-funding shenanigans.

Mr. Jones should rethink his statements about Bush's intelligence. It's obvious to the average voter who the smart one is.

Patty Schapiro
Woodland

An August letter in the Rostrum section ("Two political shrubs: Quacken and Bush") deceptively juxtaposes George W. Bush's name with that of Chuck Quackenbush, a person with whom Bush has never worked.

More accurate pairings would be: Al Gore and Monica [Lewinsky] both lauding Bill Clinton as America's greatest president (apparently it depends on the definition of great); inventor Al Gore and the Internet; the former principled pro-NRA, anti-abortion, tobacco farmer Al Gore versus the overly ambitious Al Gore who declared his vote on Desert Storm would go to the side which gave him the most TV time during the televised Senate debate; and author Gore, who argued in favor of the need for higher gas prices to get automobiles off the highway and the "I'll say anything to get votes" political Al Gore, who currently says he wants lower gasoline prices.


california
Over 7.3 million Californians have no health insurance
?,340,?85
Is our Legislature turning a blind eye to the crisis?

Oh! But those are all the same Al Gore, aren't they? And we thought that the schizophrenic in "The Three Faces of Eve" had many facades. Al Gore has more faces than Mr. Potato Head.

Norm Jachens
Carmichael

Why do you print a letter to the editor, such as the one in the August 2000 issue from Bruce E. Jones of Modesto, which is nothing but a scurrilous attack [on George W. Bush] using a "cute" literary variation on the word "bush?" This is a blatantly partisan attack, and does nothing to further political discourse.

In contrast, consider Steve Scott's "Swan Song," which ran three pages ahead [in the same issue]: "The *journal* is one of the more unique and respected publications going — a magazine committed to covering politics and policy in an honest, nonpartisan way. In an industry increasingly characterized by spin and sensationalism, this 30-year commitment is remarkable."

Jones' letter may be appropriate in some publications, but according to the standards described by Scott, it shouldn't be in yours. At least, that is not what I look forward to reading as a subscriber.

Roberta Long
Georgetown

Living happily without health insurance

The article ("Health-care epidemic deepens," May 2000) lamenting the fact that not all children have been pulled into the "health care system" reminded me of another I recently read in a publication for homesteaders. It mentioned "Americans without health insurance" the way one might mention "Americans without legs." Apparently both writers have bought into (or expect that readers have bought into) the currently popular line coming from our government that would have us all believe the following...

No one can own, operate, and raise a human body without the help of the "Health Care Industry." Our government has pushed the concept that [medical insurance] is owed to everyone, regardless of means.

Now that (according to the article) 83.9 percent of the population has "health insurance," the medical industry is assured of receiving payment for whatever it prescribes.

So the press and the White House make a big deal about the 16.1 percent of people who are not on the rolls of the insurance industry, using phrases such as "access to health care," which some elderly and other people are supposedly being denied.

They do not mention, however, that there are those who would not be caught dead dealing with this industry at all, any part of it. Some people see the hold the drug-based medical industry has over our government and do not want it interfering with their lives (or deaths, for that matter).

Your article failed to mention that many people see it not as a deprivation or national shame, but as a matter of pride and choice, to be counted among those without "coverage."

Lynne Fairchild
North Highlands

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Bush and Gore as small businessmen

by Dana Wilkie

CHARLOTTE, N.C. — Who can forget Tracy Mayberry, the Tennessee woman who famously branded Al Gore — the country's vice president, the Democratic Party's presidential nominee, the self-described protector of working families — a slumlord?

Mayberry, who in June claimed property managers weren't fixing the stinky sinks and leaky commodes at the ranch house she rented from Gore, was hardly shy about pinning the veep with this unsavory label. Nor was George W. Bush, who seized on Gore's unhappy predicament to paint his rival a scuzzy businessman.

So much for Bush's promise to "change the tone" of politics by doing away with "finger-pointing" and partisanship. But that aside, let us note an irony:

As the Texas governor gleefully showered reporters with reminders of Gore's failings as a landlord, few knew that Bush himself belonged to a small group of investors who own, or earn monthly interest from, three North Carolina dry-cleaning shops with their own customer complaints and environmental problems.

One had a history of consumer gripes until a new manager came aboard. Another was lax about protecting the environment until state authorities cracked down. And a third sits above groundwater polluted with dry-cleaning chemicals.

The Republican presidential candidate earns less than $1,000 a year on each of these investments, according to his financial reports, though his money helped each of the stores get off the ground in the early 1990s. That was when Bush buddy Robert Hitch — the former Southern Methodist University athletic director who resigned during the school's pay-for-play scandal — decided to try the cleaning business.

In January 1998, Bush and other investors took control of a Charlotte dry-cleaning shop after the store's owner died. From that month until the fall, when a new manager came aboard, the shop did not reply to at least seven complaints filed with the Better Business Bureau. So unresponsive was the store that the bureau rated its service "unsatisfactory," and the bureau president said he would be "suspicious" of doing business with the establishment. Things have improved considerably since the new manager took over.

Two years ago, state authorities told a Greensboro store that dry-cleaning chemicals had contaminated groundwater beneath the shop. Store managers argued that the pollution may have come from another dry cleaner upstream. The groundwater, which feeds into a drinking water supply, probably will remain contaminated until a new state program to clean such chemicals is in place, said Scott Stupak, environmental specialist with the North Carolina Dry-Cleaning Solvent Cleanup Program.

> The Bush campaign sees no similarities between Gore's tenant troubles and Bush's dry-cleaning problems.

Bush and a handful of other investors earn monthly interest off a note they hold with that Greensboro shop, which they sold to a company that still owes the investors about $100,000. Stupak said federal law makes anyone who ever had an interest in such a store — whether managerial or financial, whether now or in the past — potentially liable for the costs of cleaning contamination.

In the third case, state air pollution officers warned another Greensboro dry cleaner that it could be liable for $10,000 in fines after the shop failed five key areas of a 1997 inspection, including failure to properly store contaminated waste and to ensure chemicals weren't leaking into the ground. Bush and other investors draw monthly interest on a loan they gave the former manager when he purchased the store. An inspection six months later showed the shop had fixed the problems.

As one might expect, the Bush campaign sees no similarities between Gore's tenant troubles and Bush's dry-cleaning problems.

"It's ridiculous . . . to think the governor of Texas had any role in the management or operations of three North Carolina dry cleaners," said Bush spokesman Ray Sullivan. "He was never involved in business decisions."

Sullivan's reasoning seems to be this: Bush bears no responsibility for troubles bedeviling businesses that he helped create, and which bring him regular revenue, because those are the concern of managers who run the stores day-to-day.

Not unlike, say, property managers who run the day-to-day operations of a rental.

Contributing editor Dana Wilkie is a Washington correspondent for the San Diego Union Tribune. *Comments may be sent to* **edit@statenet.com.**

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We're Giving California's Kids A Big "Thumbs Up!"

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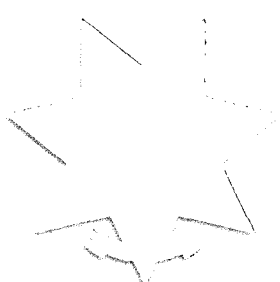

California Correctional Peace Officers Association
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Crown Victoria
Dedicated NGV

Contour
Bi-Fuel NGV

Econoline Van/Wagon
Dedicated NGV

F-150 – Dedicated NGV
– Bi-Fuel NGV
– Bi-Fuel Propane

E-Series Super Duty
Bi-Fuel Propane

Taurus
Ethanol FFV

Ranger – Ethanol FFV
Ranger Electric

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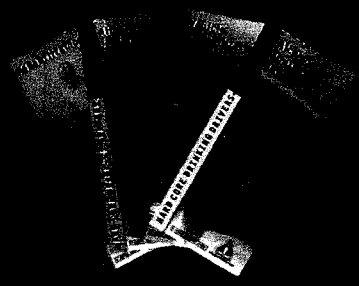
The Deadly One Percent, And How To Stop Them...

Nowadays, almost everyone takes common-sense precautions about drinking and driving. The results show that, overall, people have gotten the message about responsible driving. Highway deaths are down overall, and the percentage of those deaths due to drunk drivers is down from 42% in 1982 to 26.4% today.

But there is an extremely dangerous group of drivers that hasn't heard the message. Refuses to hear it. They are the hard-core drinking drivers whose blood-alcohol levels average around twice what most states allow. They are the one percent of weekend nighttime drivers who cause 65% of all serious crashes during those hours. The members of this deadly hard core don't respond to warnings, fines and sky-high insurance rates. Or even jail time. And most alarming, most of them keep driving after they lose their license.



The hard core threaten us all. That's why Anheuser-Busch has funded major research by the Traffic Injury Research Foundation to find solutions to stopping them. We hope every policymaker will read TIRF's recommendations. Please contact us at (314)577-4620 for copies of their series of brochures, Hard Core Drinking Drivers—*Solutions*.

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